



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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CSCE Foreign Ministers Continue Meeting in Rome

Russia, Baltics Agree on Withdrawal Stance

LD3011173393 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Russia and the Baltic countries have agreed on a new joint stance on withdrawing Russian troops from the Baltic countries. The parties say in a communique of the CSCE foreign ministers meeting in Rome that the Russian troops still in the Baltic countries will be withdrawn soon in good order and according to the agreement. The countries state in their joint decision that they will agree separately on the future of the Skrunda radar station in Latvia.

In Estonia the CSCE statement of Russia and the Baltic countries is considered to be a new and important step, Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen reports.

[Maeaettaenen] Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik described the joint statement by Russia and the Baltic countries as unique. According to Luik the countries have formulated in Rome the first joint communique of its kind on the withdrawal of Russian troops. Earlier, the speedy withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries was demanded in international statements, but now Russia and Latvia and Lithuania and Estonia have agreed on a joint statement.

Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik told our radio that this is a new step in the relationship between Russia and the Baltic countries. According to Luik, it is also positive that the text includes more detailed agreements on the timetables of the withdrawals. Russia announced some time ago that it is prepared to withdraw its troops from Latvia and Estonia by next autumn; the Baltic countries then demanded a more detailed timetable from Russia in negotiations. Russia would like to keep in three important bases in Latvia even after the autumn; the most important is the radar station in Skrunda, which has now been noted down in the joint statement by Russia and the Baltic countries in Rome. This is Ulla-Maija Maeaettaenen from the Estonian Parliament House in Tallinn.

[Announcer] Finnish Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto says that the CSCE statement by Russia and the Baltic countries is very important from the point of view of the security development around the Baltic Sea and the whole of northern Europe.

Estonia's Velliste Expresses Concern

LD0112125393 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Excerpts] A meeting of CSCE foreign ministers has begun in Rome. More details from our correspondent Uku Toom:

[Toom] [passage omitted] Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste voiced his concern about Russia still

continuing to (?delay) withdrawing its troops from Estonia (?under various pretexts).

[Begin Velliste recording] I drew particular attention at the meeting to the issues raised by Russia. They are linked to the decree on granting residence permits to [retired Russian] servicemen recently adopted in Estonia. I justified Estonia's outstanding generosity in resolving this issue. Yesterday, Russia for its part began a propaganda attack against Estonia in New York at the United Nations in connection with the subject of human rights. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kozyrev Comments on Hopes From Session

LD3011175993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1544 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksey Bulakov, Sergey Startsev, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome, 30 Nov—"Russia will take the most resolute and possibly, tough steps to ensure that the issue of the inviolability of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty should be reflected in the final documents of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers session. We assess the 'spread' of nuclear weapons as the biggest threat and as an unprecedented challenge to European security," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated in a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent at the end of the first day of the CSCE Council of Ministers session in Rome. In the minister's opinion, the participants in the meeting understand the danger of such a development. What we are saying about this problem by no means signifies some kind of "squabble between Russia and Ukraine," A. Kozyrev noted. It is a question of strict fulfillment of the international obligations taken upon ourselves. In this connection, the minister pointed to the position of the United States, Germany, and other countries which have called upon all the sides to strictly observe the clauses of the START I treaty.

The importance of the current Foreign Ministers Council session will depend on how quickly and effectively it will be able to react to the new challenges and threats to security and stability in the continent, A. Kozyrev declared. He pointed out that the Russian side drew attention to the danger of aggressive nationalism two years ago and urged the strengthening of CSCE peacekeeping activities. Naturally, the brunt of settling conflicts in the former republics of the Soviet Union is being borne by Russia, he stressed. However, the CSCE can and must provide assistance with implementing these peacekeeping efforts.

In conclusion, the minister voiced the conviction that a considerable "advance in CSCE activities" would result from the current Foreign Ministers Council sitting, and that Russia's initiatives will be reflected in the final documents.

Kozyrev Meets Minorities High Commissioner*LD3011233093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1416 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksey Bukalov, Sergey Startsev, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome, 30 Nov—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, taking part in the fourth session of the Council of CSCE Foreign Ministers, has begun a series of bilateral meetings and talks in Rome. The first on the extensive list of his collocutors were Max van der Stoep, the CSCE high commissioner for minorities and Catherine Lalumiere, the general secretary of the Council of Europe.

In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Galina Sidorova, the Russian Federation foreign minister's political adviser, said that the discussion of the Russian initiative to strengthen the institution of the CSCE high commissioner for minorities was the central topic during the conversation with Van der Stoep. A. Kozyrev noted that M. van der Stoep had carried out very significant and useful work in this area. The minister said Russia highly appraised the CSCE's work defending minorities against discrimination and ethnic cleansing. It is the minister's view that it is necessary to strive to ensure that the CSCE's recommendations in this area should be strictly implemented in practice.

A. Kozyrev highly appraised the results of the recent, first trip by Max van der Stoep to the Baltic states, and welcomed his intention to visit the former Soviet Central Asian republics soon. During the conversation the sides noted that their positions coincided with regard to the problem of the observance of human rights and of the rights of ethnic minorities. They pointed out that it was necessary for relevant international institutions to deal with this question, and that unified criteria should be arrived at in tackling it. The main thing, noted A. Kozyrev, is that the "Baltic scenario" should not repeat itself in Central Asia.

As for the conversation with C. Lalumiere, G. Sidorova continued, it took place within the framework of regular contacts between Russia and the Council of Europe. Naturally, the Russian side confirmed its policy of joining the Council. Having singled out the positive factors of A. Kozyrev's speech at the session of the council, C. Lalumiere noted that certain European countries feared a possible occurrence of Russian nationalism. The sides also discussed some aspects of the CSCE's activities in "hot spots" and exchanged views on the course of Russia's election campaign.

CE's Lalumiere Praises Kozyrev's Speech*LD3011210793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1816 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksey Bukalov, Sergey Startsev, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe [CE], has described a speech which Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev delivered at the session of the CSCE's Council of Foreign Ministers as superb.

Kozyrev gave a very accurate appraisal of the current situation in Europe, she told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [30 November].

According to Lalumiere, the significant thing about the speech is that it was very well timed and that Kozyrev's initiatives fully answer to the problems which face the European countries.

Lalumiere paid a special attention to Russia's initiative aimed at fighting the aggressive nationalism. She noted that manifestations of nationalism are characteristic of several European countries and expressed her fears that such phenomena could emerge in Russia.

The guidelines for reinforcing security and stability in Europe, outlined by the Russian foreign minister, were absolutely correct, she emphasized in conclusion.

Kozyrev Meets Counterparts*LD3011230493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2122 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksey Bukalov, Sergey Startsev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome December 1 TASS—On completion of the evening closed-door session of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev went ahead with his meetings with participants in the Rome gathering. He held talks with his counterparts Karolos Papoulias of Greece, Stanislav Daskalov of Bulgaria and Andrzej Olechowski of Poland, as well as with Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Af Ugglas, former chairwoman of the CSCE Council.

The recent visit to Greece by Russian President Boris Yeltsin imparted a fresh impetus to the entire set of Russo-Greek bilateral relations, Kozyrev and Papoulias stressed adding that now it is critical "to maintain the quick pace we had gathered", especially in the sphere of trade and economic ties. During the conversation, the sides agreed to hold shortly a meeting between the co-chairmen of the Mixed Economic Commission. Papoulias noted that Greece was always ready to render any kind of assistance to Russia in improving its relations with the European Community. The Russian foreign minister invited his Greek counterpart to pay an official visit to Moscow.

During the conversation with the Bulgarian foreign minister, the sides reiterated their course for the development of all-round cooperation between the two countries. The ministers confirmed the closeness of their views on how to settle the Bosnian conflict, discussed some practical measures to implement the agreements within the framework of the Black Sea Economic

Council. Daskalov invited his Russian counterpart to pay an official visit to Sofia.

Olehowski directly linked Poland's fate with democratic advance in Russia. The Russian and Polish ministers emphasised their mutual aspiration to enhance stability and security in Europe and the role played in this process by NATO. The sides expressed readiness to ease mutual concerns and try to understand each other's stands better.

The meeting between Kozyrev and Mrs Af Ugglas was centred round on cooperation between Russia and the CSCE, search for effective ways to develop ties with this organization, as well as assistance rendered by the CSCE to Russia's peacekeeping efforts.

Ukraine's Zlenko Addresses Session

WS0112123993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] In Rome, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko has addressed the CSCE session. He emphasized the importance of the Supreme Council resolution ratifying the START I treaty, and underlined that it was the first step on the path to gradual elimination of Ukraine's nuclear weapons. Zlenko also emphasized the significance of the initiatives that contribute to understanding and stability in Europe. He also said that the issues of ethnic minorities' rights should not be used for political purposes. Ukraine, said Zlenko, firmly supports the appropriate resolution that is to be adopted at the session.

The foreign minister is conducting intensive bilateral consultations in Rome, which are aimed at broadening and strengthening relations and cooperation in various fields. In particular, he held talks with the foreign ministers of Turkey, Great Britain, Germany, and Canada.

Black Sea Cooperation Assembly Meets in Kiev

Turkish Official Previews Session

LD2911160093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1416 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik—TASS]

[Text] Kiev November 29 TASS—By virtue of geographic and other peculiarities, Ukraine and Turkey should have close friendly relations, Turkish parliament chairman Husamettin Cindoruk said. Cindoruk is in Kiev to attend the Black Sea cooperation assembly to be held in the Ukrainian capital between November 29 and December 1. The session is expected to be attended by delegations of Azerbaijan, Albania, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine. Greece will attend as an observer.

Cindoruk, who is also president of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly, expressed the hope that

the second session of the assembly will be held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Now that the black days are in the past, the most important task is to iron out disagreements between the assembly member countries so that parliamentary activity would be carried out on an equal basis, Cindoruk stressed.

Ukrainian parliament chairman Ivan Plushch who met Cindoruk said that the Ukrainian side has created all necessary conditions for fruitful work of the assembly and expressed the hope that it will be constructive and bring progress in inter-state relations between the Black Sea countries.

Kravchuk Receives Turkish Official

LD3011222593 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Today Leonid Kravchuk, the president of Ukraine, received Husamettin Cindoruk, the president of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly and chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

[Unidentified correspondent] This meeting took place at the request of the president of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly, the session of which is proceeding in Kiev. Greeting the high-ranking guest with pleasure, Leonid Kravchuk, the president of Ukraine, noted Turkey's great role in setting up the organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly, and in developing and improving its work.

We have the honor, noted the president of Ukraine, that this initiative is being enriched in ancient Kiev today, and Ukraine will act in accordance with its abilities in order to continue to develop good-neighborly relations with states of the Black Sea region. We have all the abilities for this, emphasized Leonid Kravchuk.

Mr. Cindoruk, the president of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly, thanked him for his high assessment of the activity of this organization, and in particular for the positive attitude to mutual relations with Turkey. Leonid Kravchuk handed over an invitation for Suleyman Demirel, the president of Turkey, to visit Ukraine. Acar Germen, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Turkey to Ukraine, took part in the conversation.

Kravchuk, Plyushch Address Assembly

LD3011200393 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The second session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly started work in Kiev today.

[Unidentified correspondent] National delegations from Azerbaijan, Albania, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova,

Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine are taking part in its work. Parliamentarians from Greece are present at the session as observers.

Opening the autumn sitting of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly, Husamettin Cindoruk, its chairman and speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, emphasized the importance of the Kiev session of the assembly of Black Sea states, which, notwithstanding the existence of various socioeconomic models, have a common aim—to turn this region into a zone of peace, stability, and prosperity. Ivan Plyushch, the chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, addressed a greeting to the participants of the session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly.

[Begin Plyushch recording] Allow me, on behalf of the Supreme Council, and my own behalf, to greet all participants of the second plenary session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly. We hope that the session will make a substantial contribution to extending the practical activity of the Interparliamentary Assembly.

The signing of a declaration on setting up a parliamentary assembly of Black sea countries six months ago showed that the peoples residing in this region have a sincere wish to live in peace and accord and to develop trade, economic, humanitarian, cultural, and other links. We state with satisfaction that the initiative, which the then president of Turkey, the late Turgut Ozal, came out with at the end of 1990, is now finding its practical realization. For the declaration on Black Sea economic cooperation signed in 1992 began a process of drawing the countries and peoples of the Black Sea region closer.

We will hope that the business-like cooperation of Black Sea countries will contribute to the development of qualitatively new relations between East and West, and to the process of consolidation of economic independence of Ukraine and other countries, which are part of this cooperation.

Ukraine supported the idea of setting up a parliamentary assembly from the very beginning because the areas of cooperation outlined in the declaration are extremely important for our state. We are convinced that in the future we will manage to come to a qualitatively new level of mutual relations, together with our partners in various areas of the economy, science, and culture. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk addressed the participants of the plenary session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly. Taking into account that the development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation in the Black Sea region is inseparable from political stability and the existence of armed conflicts in the region and the tension among some states, Ukraine, said Leonid Kravchuk, is putting forward a number of proposals in the military-political sphere, the implementation of which

could contribute to establishing an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust here.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] What are the main aspects? First, to elaborate conditions of naval training with the aim of reducing it and also to do the same for all other actions of naval ships in times of peace, which would decrease the presence and possibility of conflict.

Second, to adopt a declaration on the inviolability and immunity of naval borders of the countries of the Black Sea basin and on relations between naval forces and naval units of border troops.

Third, to elaborate and sign a memorandum of countries of the Black Sea region on the inadmissibility of utilizing one's naval forces against one another in a direct or other form.

Fourth, to adopt a declaration with countries of the Black Sea basin on renouncing the granting of one's territory for carrying out aggression or injurious acts against other Black Sea states.

I repeat, this is only a sketch, an outline of our initiative. We are prepared to elaborate it in detail, to take into account the interests of all interested states. Joint actions and collective reason and desire are needed here. [end recording]

[Correspondent] After a break the assembly participants examined procedural issues. The authority of new members of the assembly was confirmed, the agenda was adopted, and reports from the spring session, that took place in Istanbul in June 1993, were approved. A report on the activity of the assembly and the Standing Committee was also approved.

Then a debate on specific issues of cooperation in the spheres of the economy, trade, technology, and the environment took place. The issue of improving customs regulations in force between countries of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly was discussed. The current state of Black Sea economic cooperation and political issues were discussed, too.

Further on Kravchuk Remarks

LD0112011893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2050 GMT
30 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—As UNIAN has already reported, the second session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly started on 30 November. During his speech at the opening of the session, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk expressed the hope that this international meeting would contribute to the deepening of mutual understanding among states of the Black Sea region. He stressed that the open foreign policy of Ukraine is based on "the basic directions of Ukraine's foreign policy activity" adopted by the Supreme Council in July 1993, and also proceeds from principles of guiding UN documents, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. Confirming

Ukraine's non-nuclear course, Leonid Kravchuk noted that our state is currently waiting for guarantees of its security, above all from the other participants of START I, Russia and the United States: "We do not view the nuclear potential as weapons, but as material wealth, and demand fair compensation,"—said the president on Ukraine's stance.

"We view all of Ukraine's neighbors as priority partners. Ukraine proposes creating favorable conditions for contacts in the sphere of water transport; fuel, power, and agro-industrial complexes; health protection; pharmaceuticals; and the processing industry on the basis of a Black Sea region of peace and cooperation. In our view, progressive development of international economic cooperation in the Black Sea region will facilitate the creation of conditions for founding a Black Sea foreign trade and investment bank,"—this was the expectation expressed by Leonid Kravchuk. At the end of his speech the Ukrainian president emphasized the exceptional importance of further joint work on the convention for protecting the Black Sea from industrial emissions.

Customs, taxation, and legal aspects of future economic cooperation between the 11 states of the Black Sea region were discussed at the evening sitting of the session. In particular, committee chairman Kristian Dumitrescu—reporting on the first sitting in Bucharest (5-6 October 1993) of the committee for economic, trade, technological, and environmental issues—proposed that cooperation in improving the exchange of information begins, in particular, by establishing a joint data bank of participant states of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly. In the opinion of observers, the current session will probably adopt an appropriate document on this issue. The necessity of the active exchange of information was one of the main subjects of a speech by Vitaliy Melnychu, a member of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly committee for issues of the economy from Ukraine. In his

opinion, without a resolution of this problem, the issue of harmonizing relations at a legislative level cannot be resolved, nor can favorable conditions for direct contacts between private enterprises of Black Sea region states be created.

Plyushch Regrets Conflicts

LD3011234593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Ivan Plyushch, the chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, spoke at the plenary sitting of the second session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly today. Notwithstanding all of the difficulties in building an independent state, he said in particular, we have managed to preserve peace in the Ukrainian home, and this is always the most important thing.

At the same time, Ivan Plyushch stressed that the Ukrainian people perceives with concern and pain the fact that one has not managed to put out the flame of armed conflicts on the territory of individual Black Sea and other neighboring states. Blood is being spilled there. He expressed the opinion that the parliamentary assembly cannot stand aside from these burning issues for mankind.

Noting that Ukraine has determined for itself a path of continued self-development, the speaker of Ukraine's parliament stressed that this path coincides with the principles of forming the Black Sea economic cooperation zone. We should do everything, said Ivan Plyushch, so that the Black Sea always unites peoples, and its shores are peaceful and open for multifaceted mutually advantageous links. The Supreme Council chairman expressed the certainty that turning the Black Sea into a zone of strong peace and progress, and stability and prosperity, in view of its geopolitical situation, corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples.

Nine CIS Countries Protest Moscow Residence Order*LD3011140193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 30 Nov 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—A total of nine embassies and missions of CIS countries accredited in the Russian Federation, including Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan and Ukraine, have lodged a note with the Russian Foreign Ministry protesting against an instruction issued by the Moscow mayor introducing a "special order of residence" in the Russian capital, the press service of the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia reported today.

The document expresses the understanding of the concern of the Moscow City government over the worsening criminal situation in the Russian capital and its desire to reduce crime rates, but at the same time it drew attention to the fact that under the mayor's resolution, all citizens arriving in Moscow from CIS countries have been "humiliated" without exception. The note says that the practice of "being registered" in accordance with the Russian legislature [as received] applies only to persons who had served their term of imprisonment for committing a crime.

The document draws the attention of the Russian Foreign Ministry to the fact that the Moscow mayor has violated articles 2 and 5 of an agreement on the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States which guarantees all CIS citizens the freedom of movement, "transparency of borders" and the right to stay in any place of the Commonwealth.

It was pointed out that the mayor's instruction violates a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements on human rights signed by the Russian Federation. Putting the instruction into effect "might trigger chain reaction and similar resolutions adopted in other regions of the Commonwealth," the document said. Commenting on the document, a high-ranking official of the Russian Foreign Ministry admitted that the Moscow mayor's instruction "does not fully conform to Russia's international commitments." He said that the Russian Foreign Ministry has nothing to do with working out this instruction and was notified about it only after the instruction had been signed.

Sources from the Russian Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS that on the instruction from Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin the Russian Interior Ministry jointly with the Russian Foreign Ministry and other departments concerned are working out proposals on this problem.

Council Adopts CIS Agricultural Research Program*LD301114693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1116 GMT 30 Nov 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Filatov]*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Joint coordinated actions are needed to overcome the crisis in which agriculture and agrarian science landed in countries of the CIS. Such is the common opinion of participants in a two-day meeting of the interstate council on agrarian science and information in the agroindustrial complex of countries of the CIS. The meeting that ended on Tuesday was attended by delegations of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

These tasks should be tackled by joint efforts, relying on scientific and technological potential of agrarian science in countries of the CIS. This was noted by presidents of agricultural academies: Gennadiy Romanenko of the Russian Academy, Aleksey Sozinov of the Ukrainian, Vitaliy Antonyuk of the Belarusian Academy, and other speakers.

The participants in the meeting of the interstate council signed the guidelines for joint coordinated agrarian research and information back up for the agroindustrial complex in the countries of the CIS. The guidelines envisage interstate cooperation in the implementation of fundamental research, scientific, technological and other programmes. The journal "AGRARIAN SCIENCE" will circulate information about the agroindustrial complex in countries of the CIS.

Cesium-137 Levels for Russia, Belarus, Ukraine Noted*LD0112103293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0100 GMT 1 Dec 93**[By BELINFORM correspondent Lidiya Peresyphkina—TASS]*

[Text] Minsk, 1 Dec—Specialists have spent three years working on an updated and amplified chart of cesium-137 contamination of territory in the states of the former Union. The new chart synthesizes and summarizes data obtained from gamma-spectrometric analysis of numerous soil samples and gamma-spectrometric surveys from the air.

"This updated chart reflects the third post-Chernobyl period, which began in 1988," Yuriy Pokumeyko, head of the Belarus hydrometeorological service says. "The radiation situation is now dominated by cesium-137, strontium-90 and plutonium-238, -239, -240, and -241, whose half-life ranges from a minimum of 12 years to a maximum of almost 25,000 years. The breakdown, by republics, of contamination by long-life radionuclides with a density of one curie per square kilometre and above is now as follows: Belarus—23 percent of the

republic's total area, Ukraine—5.2 percent, and Russia 0.6 percent. The worst affected areas are Gomel, Mogilev, Zhitomir, Rovno, Kiev, Bryansk, Tula and Orel oblasts. I wish to point out that, as far as Russia is concerned, the chart has been augmented with information about strontium-90 contamination resulting from the Kyshtym accident in the Urals."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 1 Dec

LD0112065693 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0534
GMT 1 Dec 93

[*"Press Review"*—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Today's Moscow and St. Petersburg-based press continues to discuss the forthcoming elections to the federal assembly.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Newspaper) frontpages a list of Russia's 100 leading politicians in November. The list is headed by President Boris Yeltsin, First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar and Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

"It is seen from the November list of Russia's 100 leading politicians that new 'stars' have appeared on Russia's political horizon during the election campaign. Some of them will probably fade out after the elections while others will grow brighter", the newspaper observes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Valeriy Zorkin, former chief justice of the Constitutional Court, who believes that "there will be no good results in this country if a positive coalition of moderate forces (but not oppositional ones) fails to emerge in Russia to cut away the extremes, establish order and justice and carry out genuine transformations with a strong statehood, taking into account Russia's federative diversity". Zorkin's opinion is that "there will be no free elections (to the federal assembly—note by ITAR-TASS)".

TRUD runs an interview with Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov who said as follows: "I support the draft new constitution, although I am aware, of course, that the document is still far from perfection. But it is utterly essential to adopt it on December 12. This will render legitimate the federal assembly itself.

"On the other hand, non-acceptance of a new constitution threatens the country with gradual slipping down into an dictatorship of executive authority, a dictatorship which may emerge due to the lack of control on the part of parliament".

Touching upon the new recently adopted military doctrine of Russia, Shaposhnikov said: "Personally, I would not have adopted a new military doctrine now and I do not understand why this is being done in such haste... No one up to now has worked out and presented the concept of a state which we want to build. If there is no concept of a state, how can one speak about the doctrine of an absent thing?"

St. Petersburg-based NEVSKOYE VREMYA on constituents' inactivity.

Members of the municipal coordinating group for preparation and holding of elections told the newspaper that, despite the fact that invitations have been sent out long ago, only about one per cent of Petersburgers visited polling stations to check whether their names were properly entered in voters' lists.

The newspaper SMENA on a founding meeting of the Leningrad organisation of the Workers and Farmers Party of Russia. Workers from some enterprises of the city, state farms of Leningrad region and members of the Leningrad workers' council have reached a conclusion about the need to transform the Russian communist workers party into a political organisation which would "most fully reflect the interests of the working class" under new conditions.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on a founding conference in Moscow of the Movement in Defence of Democracy and Human Rights in Moscow.

"The main task of the movement is to become a core for the establishment of an extraparlimentary opposition to put pressure on the federal assembly and draw new forces into politics," movement leader Gleb Pavlovskiy told the newspaper.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the dissolution of the inter-agency anti-corruption commission.

"There can be various speculations as to why this has been done. Only one thing is clear that it is unlikely that the commission was dissolved due to complete and final triumph over crime and corruption in our country," the newspaper points out in a front-page article.

"It is much more likely that the commission leaders in their expository endeavours went beyond the limits set for them (to check materials concerning Rutskoy, Khasbulatov and Barannikov) and began to gather compromising data on a number of politicians who are not affiliated with power-wielding institutions but who pose a potential threat to the present Russian leaders in view of the forthcoming elections".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries interviews with academician Georgiy Arbatov and government adviser Sergey Vasilyev who discuss the reform process in Russia.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) frontpages an article dedicated to Marshal Georgiy Zhukov who would have been 97 years old today.

ST. PETERSBURG GAZETTE reports that the Russian security ministry's military counter-intelligence officers responsible for the Leningrad naval base together with the personnel of the regional department for combatting organised crime of St. Petersburg police headquarters apprehended a criminal group of persons who are said to

have been stealing more than one tonne of commercial-grade of the highest purification from the military facilities of the Leningrad naval base to the tune of more than 350 million roubles. The stolen silver was kept in the storage batteries of torpedo boats.

Among those apprehended is a senior logistical officer of the Leningrad naval base. The stolen silver was partially sold and partially used to produce home-made jewellery with false hallmarks and commercial labels.

Irkutsk (Siberia)-based press on turnout prospects for December 12.

Sixty-one per cent of people in Irkutsk are prepared to go to the polls on December 13, about 20 per cent will not vote, and the rest are undecided so far, according to the findings of an opinion poll taken among 1,145 Siberians by the regional sociological centre and published in the local press.

Russian newspapers today run remarks by politicians, who represent various parties and blocs, about the draft new constitution which has been brought up for the December 12 referendum.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA quotes Russian Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov, who represents the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, as saying that "countrywide discussions" of draft constitutions, as were practised in the former Soviet Union, should be abandoned.

"There was a constitutional convention, representing all sections of the population, main movements and parties. What else is needed? This is why, I think, there should be no countrywide discussion and that a referendum will be enough," Kalmykov told the newspaper.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: Roy Medvedev, prominent Russian historian, who represents the Socialist Party of the Working People: "A referendum is not the best way to adopt a constitution. I would not have brought up a draft constitution for a referendum now at all because it has not been discussed by all people. All constitutions that were previously adopted, with all their

flaws, of which there quite many, went through some period of a countrywide discussion, albeit formally".

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: Gennadiy Burbulis, representative of Russia's Choice socio-political bloc: "It is appropriate to bring up a draft constitution for a referendum provided all pertinent suggestions are taken into account. A newly-formed Federal Assembly should not be, of course, likened to a body that rubber-stamps anything coming its way.

"The new fundamental law does not exclude a transitional period. I personally do not quite understand how our constitution can be fruitful to the full if it inherits without reservations the state-administrative and state-national division which is the legacy of common totalitarian power.

"We shall be in for a normal reform only when we finally come to realise that we shall hardly manage to administer Russia in an optimum way within the framework of 89 subjects of the federation, the framework which used to be established arbitrarily—sometimes cynically, sometimes repressively".

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: Academician Yakovlev, who represents the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms: "A constitution is really needed and one cannot live without it". "But there is one contradiction in this respect, namely, whether, I query, moral-political and social factors and criteria in our country are ripe for a new constitution to reflect in earnest the stage of democratic development which Russia is living through. I think, they are not ripe. We now have got a draft constitution for a purely transitional period, and it should not lay claim to anything more than that".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an interview with Valeriy Zorkin, former chief justice of the Constitutional Court, who remarked that "a constitution is never adopted by 25 per cent of the population. This provision is a time bomb. Let us assume that a new leader would come and say: this fundamental law was adopted without participation of a majority of the population, and that it was necessary at least to adopt a new constitution by a majority from among the registered electorate, and not just those who went to the polls".

Foreign Ministry Aide Karasin Holds News Briefing

Says Estonia Claiming Russian Land

LD3011165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1305 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov— Grigoriy Karasin, director of the department of information and press of the Russian Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today that Estonia is drafting laws on compensation for those of its citizens whose land was expropriated after 1940. At the same time, Karasin noted, the Estonian authorities intend to value land which does not belong to that country. For example, the bill sent to the State Assembly mentions Pechora and Zanarovy, historically Russian territories within the Pskovskaya and Leningradskaya Oblasts of the Russian Federation.

"Moscow believes," the Russian diplomat said, "that the talk here is not about the so-called financial obligations of the Estonian Government toward Estonian citizens who suffered as a result of the Soviet occupation, but about a continuing claim on Russian land." Grigoriy Karasin underlined that the inclusion in the bill of measures relating to land belonging to another state can only be regarded as an act that contradicts international law and is aimed at aggravating tension in bilateral relations.

Comments on Ties With Kazakhstan

LD3011181693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Statements made even by top officials cannot do much harm to the good relations between Kazakhstan and Russia, Grigoriy Karasin, the Russian Foreign Ministry's spokesman said, when Interfax asked him to comment on the recent remarks made by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev about the position of the Russian speaking population in Kazakhstan.

Karasin emphasized that "Russia and Kazakhstan must develop interaction and mutual understanding in every field, notably in matters related to the Russian speaking population. Both sides can and are willing to do so."

Views Geneva Talks on Georgia

LD3011181893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Ministry's spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing in Moscow Tuesday [30 November] that the agenda of the talks which started in Geneva Monday under the aegis of the UN Secretary General's special envoy would include both first priority steps to resolve the conflict and comprehensive political settlement in Abkhazia.

In his words, the Russian delegation, which acts as a peace broker, is headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, the Russian president's special envoy. The Georgian delegation is headed by Jaba Ioseliani, a parliament deputy, and the Abkhazian delegation, by Sokrat Jinjoliya, Chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet. A U.S. President's envoy attends the conference as an observer.

In Karasin's words, as the Geneva meeting is underway, France has started the setting up of a so-called Georgia's Friends group which is expected to include Russia, France, the U.S.A., Germany, and Britain. The group is expected to help the warring parties in starting a constructive dialog and promote peace keeping operations in Georgia and Abkhazia.

The diplomat said that Russia regarded the French initiative as a response to its calls on the world community to support Russia's peace efforts in Georgia and throughout the CIS.

"The group cannot obviously replace or duplicate the UN Secretariat or the Russian Federation in Georgia. It is designed to back the negotiating process," Karasin said.

Welcomes Iraq's Decision on Monitoring

LD0112020093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature:]

[Text] At Tuesday's [30 November] briefing [Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman] Karasin welcomed Baghdad's statement about officially recognizing Resolution No. 715 issued by the UN Security Council. The resolution provides for taking measures designed to ensure long-term control over the area of disarmament and military programs in Iraq.

"We view this as an important step forward in the implementation of Security Council resolutions aimed at ensuring a post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf area. It is in keeping with rather constructive interaction between Iraq and the Security Council's Special Commission established lately," Karasin pointed out.

He said he hopes that "the Iraqi recognition of Resolution No. 715 will become a basis for concrete actions, not a declaration of intentions."

Lavrov Comments on Ukraine, 'Aggressive Nationalism'

LD3011194993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Even though the era of confrontation between hostile blocs is over, Russia, like any other country, continues to have its national interests, the respect for which it seeks to secure. In the present circumstances, the main task faced by its Foreign Ministry is to achieve this solely by means of talks, compromises and mutual concessions, not by means of blackmail or threats." This statement was made in Moscow on Tuesday [30 November] by Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, who addressed a round-table session devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Tehran Conference.

According to Lavrov, "we have to meet such challenges, as the need to combat aggressive nationalism and terrorism, in less stable conditions than we had in the recent past." "The negative stability—based on the global confrontation between two super forces—is over. Today's situation constantly demands new solutions and does not allow for obstinacy," he noted.

As the deputy foreign minister said, the need to combat aggressive nationalism is "a major slogan of Russian diplomacy, since it involves a large area of Russian interests." In the framework of the CSCE, Russia would like "to translate its initiatives in this field into the language of practical decisions."

When resolving international problems the world community "should focus on multilateral, collective, measures," the diplomat said. "Russia supports this policy because it answers to its interests, not because it's in fashion today," he said.

According to Lavrov, bilateral efforts in resolving complicated international problems "are often insufficient." By way of an example he pointed to the situation concerning nuclear arms in Ukraine, which is a problem for the entire world community and which "can be tackled only by all of us together." "If the CSCE Foreign Ministers Council, which convenes for a session in Rome on Tuesday, fails to make a clear and unambiguous statement on the problem of nuclear arms in Ukraine, the subsequent decisions taken on an international level may be depreciated," he said.

The CSCE Foreign Ministers Council resolves the key issues by consensus, Russia's deputy foreign minister said. "So, Ukraine will be in a position to block any decision. Unfortunately this is quite possible, because the Ukrainian side has taken an extremely unyielding stand," the diplomat said.

Furthermore, he said, experience has shown that bilateral efforts aimed at ensuring the rights of Russian speakers in the former Soviet republics are not effective enough. "Only the world community can exert an effective influence on Latvia and Estonia," he said.

Partnership in the framework of international organizations has great importance for Russia's peace-making activity in the former USSR, Lavrov pointed out. He

dismissed the charges that peace-keeping is "an expression of Russia's neo-imperial ambitions." "This concerns Russian interests in the countries located in direct proximity to our frontiers. We cannot remain indifferent to the possibility that instability will spread to Russia itself. Neither can we say 'no', when asked for aid," Lavrov said.

Russia has always informed the UN and the CSCE of all its actions, and sought official support from them, Lavrov stressed. "As contacts with the CSCE show, in evidence is the desire "to impose restrictions on Russia's peace-making activity and make any peace-keeping operation directly dependent on endorsement by the CSCE or the UN," Russia's deputy foreign minister said.

Official on Ukraine's 'Blow' to Nonproliferation

LD3011223993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2015 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva November 30 TASS—Reservations made by the Ukrainian parliament when ratifying the START I Treaty hit a blow on the current regime of nonproliferation of nuclear arms, Russian permanent representative to the U.N. conference on disarmament Grigory Berdennikov told a news conference here today.

In fact, there was no ratification, as major components of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol and a major instrument of their implementation were removed, he said.

For instance, the Ukrainian Parliament excluded Article 5 of the Lisbon Protocol. The article ensures Kiev's joining of the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear arms as a non-nuclear state. What is especially dangerous is that it happened on the eve of a conference on open-ended prolongation of the Treaty scheduled for 1995. Ukraine has actually proclaimed itself the sixth nuclear power.

In the words of Berdennikov, Kiev has also violated the agreement signed in early September in Massandra, the Crimea, by the Ukrainian and Russian Government heads to ensure the withdrawal of all strategic nuclear arms to the Russian Federation for further dismantling.

The Russian representative called attention to the danger posed by nuclear warheads on Ukrainian territory which are no longer maintained by Russian specialists. Only Russian specialists can efficiently maintain the warheads and the missiles. Thus, all the responsibility for the state of nuclear arms rests on Ukraine.

The Ukrainian parliament resolution is not only the issue of Ukrainian-Russian relations, stressed Berdennikov. It also concerns other nuclear states, depositaries of the treaty on nonproliferation and the whole international community.

No doubt, neither the START I nor the START II Treaties can enter into force due to the Ukrainian steps. Berdennikov said they would like to convey Russian concern with Ukrainian actions.

Defense Official on Ukrainian Nuclear Warheads

LD0112122193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1052 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec—Ukrainian nuclear warheads "can be used even now as radiological weapons," warns Major General Vitaliy Yakovlev, deputy chief of staff of the Russian Defense Ministry's Main Directorate. "Last May, a unit of the flight personnel of the strategic bombers, and also nuclear-technical units operating about 600 aviation strategic nuclear warheads, were administered the Ukrainian oath. This means that Ukraine has potentially gained the possibility of using aviation nuclear weapons. It is true, a number of technical problems on this need to be solved,"—he put forth this view on the possibility of Ukraine using its nuclear weapons for military purposes in an interview today with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

"There are currently about 2,000 nuclear warheads on the territory of Ukraine. Their technical condition can no longer be called satisfactory," the general said. "The guaranteed period for their use is no more than six years, and this period is running out for some of them. This requires the constant attention of service specialists. It is essential, in particular, to replace obsolete components with new ones, which Ukraine does not possess."

"Russia has no control over the condition or maintenance of nuclear warheads in Ukraine," Vitaliy Yakovlev notes. "Since the Ukrainian parliament enshrined in legislation its right to the ownership of nuclear weapons, and the defense minister ordered that the so-called 'S' installations be transferred to his subordination, the Russian Defense Ministry has lost the possibility of controlling the condition of nuclear warheads. There are no longer any Russian military units there. In other words, Russia can no longer be responsible for nuclear safety on the territory of Ukraine, and Ukraine cannot ensure nuclear safety in the operation of these warheads," he noted. Regarding the possibility of nuclear warheads "leaving" the territory of Ukraine for other countries, "if this happens we might not know about it," the specialist said. "These are dangerous games, fraught with terrible disaster."

"There is only way out—observing the Massandra agreements," he believes. (ITAR-TASS note: documents settling the problem of nuclear strategic weapons were signed by the premiers of the governments of Russia and Ukraine in Crimea in September). "The Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Energy says that it is ready to dismantle all nuclear warheads located in Ukraine over a period of 24 months."

Yeltsin Backs Kyrgyz President's Decision on Referendum

LD3011155293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in a telephone conversation that he fully supports the decision of Kyrgyzstan leader Askar Akayev to hold a nationwide referendum on confidence in the republic's president on 30 January next year. INTERFAX was told this by the head of the Kyrgyz president's office.

He said Uzbek President Islam Karimov has also approved Askar Akayev's intention. In an address to Kyrgyzstan's Supreme Soviet announced earlier, President Akayev expressed an opinion on the possibility of early nationwide presidential elections. The decree on the referendum, which was adopted on Monday, will help avoid the general chaos that could be caused if the president were to call early elections.

Yeltsin Envoy Blames Armenia for Failed Mission

LD2911213193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In an interview with today's "Vesti" program, Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian president's special envoy to Nagorno-Karabakh, expressed regret over the fact that his mediatory mission was cut short 10 days ago because his car was fired upon near the Armenian border.

[Begin recording] [Kazimirov] It is incorrect to claim that the change of itinerary was not made known to the Armenian side. The Armenian presidential apparatus knew this very well and, I believe, the president of the Republic of Armenia was told about this. [end recording]

During the week prior to the incident, Vladimir Kazimirov held intense talks with Azerbaijan's president, foreign minister, and religious leader, and intended to convey the ideas generated there to the leadership of Armenia and Karabakh. The Armenian side, however, did not take the necessary measures to complete the mission, and up to now has not made enough efforts to revive it.

[Begin Kazimirov recording] In our view, within the existing conditions it is the precisely the Armenian side that should take the first step toward reconciliation, since it has taken more active military positions. [end recording]

Shokhin Speaks on Development of U.S. Trade Relations

LD0112112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1043 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—"The structure of foreign economic relations between Russia and the

United States is radically changing now", Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin told a conference on Wednesday [1 December] which discussed the Russian-U.S. framework agreement on oil and gas.

Earlier the major bulk of trade relations between the two countries was comprised by Russian grain imports. Now the major attention is paid to investments, trade services and hi-tech export to Russia, he said.

Today Russia can master 7-8 billions of foreign investments, according to Shokhin who added that only the fuel and energy complex will demand over 50 billion dollars for modernization in the coming years.

He believes that the competition on the Russian market of investments will be very tough in two-three years.

Shokhin assured foreign investors that the government plans to create a legislative basis which would protect their finances and ensure stability and calm for their work.

Further Shokhin Remarks

LD3011170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1511
GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The Persian Gulf countries believe that "Russia as a great power must act as a guarantor of stability in the world and in the region", Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told a press conference devoted to the results of his last week's trip to the United Arab Emirates and Russian arms export.

A press release circulated at the press conference said Russia earned 2.3 billion dollars from arms sales in 1992, and has set sights on earning about nine billion dollars annually. It is hardly sensible to turn away from this source of income which helps solve numerous problems facing this country, the press release says.

It also stressed that Russian arms exports are not politically motivated. They are purely commercial in nature and are not directed against the interests of any separate country. "Moreover, we are prepared to discuss with the world exporters a reduction of arms exports on a reciprocal basis," the paper said.

Russia is now orientating its arms sales towards financially and politically stable Middle East, Latin American and Southeast Asian countries. Good prospects exist for cooperation with China in the military field, the release said.

Responding to questions from journalists, Aleksandr Shokhin expressed confidence that the privatisation process underway in Russia, including the sell-off of military enterprises, will not impair state control over Russia's arms export. He recalled that Russia had set up a special system of control over its arms sales, and control is now being further tightened.

NEW YORK TIMES Story of Urals Nuclear Bunker Rebutted

PM3011195193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec
93 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report: "What Are They Digging in the Ural Mountains? In Russia, Neither the Military Nor the Civilians Know..."]

[Text] The NEW YORK TIMES has run a story asserting that "deep in the heart of the Ural mountains Russian engineers are engaged in the construction of a vast underground command post which will be used in the event of a nuclear war."

The newspaper goes on to report: "Equipped with antennae to maintain links with submarines carrying nuclear weapons and to control ground-based mobile missile launchers, the new bunker will be part of a multibillion Russian project to update the strategic nuclear forces." The author of this article concludes: "The military leadership is committed to preserving Russia's status as a nuclear superpower."

"We are constructing nothing of the sort"—this is what IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told at the Russian Armed Forces General Staff. "You've got the wrong guys on this question." The president's administration also knew nothing about such a construction project, and neither did the government press center. It was there that we were advised to approach the civil defense leadership.

Yuriy Vorobyev, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, said that his department is neither financing nor spearheading any such construction project. "We have other ideas," he stated.

So who is spearheading this construction project? Is it being carried out at all? Everyone knows that the reputable and influential NEW YORK TIMES does not print information "off the top of its head."

It remains to suggest one of two things: Either a satellite or a spy has gotten confused about something. Or maybe our leaders really do not know what is being dug out there in the Ural mountains...

Implications of FIS Report on NATO Expansion Analyzed

MK0112075093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in
Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Sergey Shevykin report in the "Response" column: "Yevgeniy Primakov Stirs the Waters. World Reaction to the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service's Report"]

[Text] It has been a long time since the Russian special services have given the world a sensation, if one disregards reports about just another "migratory bird" from the "free Russia" or the partial lifting of the veil on secrets in the KGB archives. Against this backdrop the

report by the Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], "Prospects for NATO's Expansion and Russia's Interests" (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA of 26 November 1993) may obviously lay claim to the title of the major "spy" scandal of the year. At least, the reaction to it in the Eurasian and American capitals speaks for itself.

The AP agency has assessed FIS leader Yevgeniy Primakov's statement as "the strongest response to NATO's plans for admitting new members." In the opinion of the Japanese NIHON KEIZAI, the FIS has practically confirmed that NATO still regards Russia as a source of military threat. THE NEW YORK TIMES believes that any move by the bloc aimed at merging with the East European countries will force Moscow to take "fundamental military countermeasures."

Predictably, Budapest, Warsaw, and Prague immediately responded most sharply. Other states, like, for instance, Slovakia, accepted the FIS position as an inevitability. Romania expressed a balanced point of view. A presidential spokesman stressed that his country considers it essential to develop as close ties with NATO as possible, including the joining of this organization in the future.

The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry for its part apparently did not expect that it would find itself in the focus of an operation by its closest colleagues, many of whom thankfully accept a diplomatic "cover" over their heads, and more often just take it for granted. The point, however, is not that the two departments did not share their information, which resulted in a different understanding of the implications of NATO's possible proliferation.

Judging by the FIS report, it was based on the same sources available in the public domain as those used by the Foreign Affairs Ministry: public statements by politicians and the military, and newspaper and journal articles. Yet the conclusions drawn are different. Little wonder: In politics two times two almost never equals four. A correct answer, unless it is preprogrammed by an analyst in advance, has to be sought often relying on pure intuition. In our case the diplomats come to the conclusion that NATO, Eastern Europe, and Russia are capable of taking a stroll into a single Europe, clearing the potholes and ruts and politely supporting one another by the elbow.

People in Academician Primakov's nonacademic service believe that for a start it is necessary to understand who is headed where and why—and this also applies to Russia; only after that should it be decided whether "one should let oneself go" and in what sense: "The fact that as a result of NATO's expansion its world's largest military grouping possessing a colossal offensive capability approaches the lines in immediate proximity to the Russian borders, calls for a drastic revision of all defense concepts...."

I shall venture to say: They have just revised them. In the first days of November Russia's military doctrine was approved by the Security Council and the president. The

document envisions the possibility of even a nuclear strike being delivered on the nuclear-free Eastern Europe if its states, having acceded to the NATO structures—God forbid—encroach on our security. Even though in the new concept "nuclear weapons are regarded primarily not as a means to conduct military actions but as a political deterrent against aggression."

Given the amount of our country's nuclear weapons, we should apparently be proud of such a reliable shield. But, as THE NEW YORK TIMES believes, "Russia and its neighbors have fairly deep differences over what each one of them needs to ensure its own security. Russia, like centuries ago, is seeking to ensure it by strengthening its influence on its western and eastern neighbors. The neighbors for their part mostly need security from Russian domination."

As the Foreign Ministry's and the FIS' approaches to the problem show, differences also exist among high-ranking Russian politicians, which is an open secret even to "their" spies, who are now being told the whole truth by ours, without any apprehension. Andrey Kozyrev meanwhile has been placed in an extremely delicate position, especially on the eve of his visits to Rome and Brussels for consultations on matters related in particular to NATO's development and the participation in this process by Russia and the East European countries. The declassified FIS report has deprived the minister of the possibility of repeating a "Stockholm scenario" in which he unexpectedly reads out a document in order to intimidate the western and especially the eastern part of Europe somewhat with prospects that would arise should a change in the ruling authority in Russia occur.

East Europe Returning to Sphere of Influence

MK0112131093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Geopolitics" rubric: "Russia Returns to East Europe After Boosting Its Stance Within CIS"]

[Text] Events of the past few days—a report by Yevgeniy Primakov, Russian Foreign Intelligence Service chief, about his agency's negative attitude to NATO's expansion; outspoken statements by some high-ranking Russian diplomats on the subject; deliberately thinly veiled consultations at the Foreign Ministry and at the Russian Security Council, chaired by its secretary; the Defense Ministry's intensive foreign policy activity; and, finally, the Russian Government's harshly critical statement regarding the Ukrainian Supreme Council's decision on START I—confirmed that diplomats have been unjustly reproached for a lack of a clearly thought-out foreign policy concept. There has been a concept, but it could not be made public so as to avoid the Western partners' chagrin—and, of course, it required time. Presently, this concept of redividing Eurasia is being translated into action smoothly and steadily.

The tone of Russian politicians has changed. Andrey Kozyrev, who was seen as a "dove" fairly recently, does not mince words when speaking about his counterparts from the former Soviet republics. The most cautious Yevgeniy Primakov tells journalists bluntly what suits the Russian intelligence service and what does not. He no longer conceals his agency's turbulent activity to promote the country's national interests. The foreign minister's advisers invite representatives from "overseas" foreign countries to discuss what could be done jointly to check Kiev's nuclear ambitions—such is the current level of mutual understanding within the CIS. But it was in fact with the CIS that all this actually started...

Even after the Commonwealth was set up, Moscow tried to enhance Russia's sphere of influence on the territory of the former USSR. This is why such painstaking efforts were taken to invite Georgia to join the Commonwealth, to bring back Azerbaijan, to keep Tajikistan. As a result, this "sphere of influence" now covers all former Soviet republics except the Baltic states. The unwillingness of virtually all the former Soviet republics' political leaders to carry out economic reform (again, except for the Baltic states) only made the Russian leaders' task easier. The neighboring countries simply lost an economic war, being unable to realize the degree of integration between the former Union's regions and the need to pursue reform simultaneously. The easiness of one's first victory only raises one's appetite.

Meanwhile, it has become evident that the West is ready to give assistance to East Europe, but it is not intent on integrating with it into a single whole. Evidently, hardships inherent in the integration of the former GDR into a new Germany could not but prompt Western politicians to wake up to the dreadful prospect of what may happen if the West unites itself with the former socialist countries. This is why Moscow only needed to exploit the difficulties of the East European countries, their disenchantment with the virtually sealed Western market, and bright prospects opening up on the Eastern market... Against this backdrop, the forging of special relations between Moscow and Bratislava, and realistic possibilities for such relations between Moscow and Bucharest, Warsaw, Sofia, and, possibly, Prague and Budapest look fairly logical. There is no need to remind you of the obvious: after the war in Yugoslavia, Serbia may easily find itself in that same sphere of influence.

So far it has been economic relations that have been at issue. It is by no means a coincidence, however, that many observers in the aforementioned countries ask whether it is possible to maintain only economic relations with Russia? Or will they still have to make concessions? But Moscow is not ready, or willing, to answer that question. The Kremlin's foreign policy offensive is only beginning...

Southern Flank, CFE Quota Problems Viewed

PM0112095593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 7

[Article by Leonid Timofeyev: "Armored Vehicles Are Strong, but Cut Up Quite Well"]

[Text] In November it is a year since the conventional armed forces in Europe [CFE] treaty came into force. The schedule began at the same time in accordance with which the countries of the former Warsaw Pact must destroy 35,000 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces and NATO 16,000 by 1995.

Recently the NATO representatives have been making statements claiming that 2,000 heavy vehicles which were to be destroyed have been "lost" on the expanses of the former USSR. But the facts attest that these statements should not be applied to Russia. At the Russian Federation Defense Ministry your KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent was assured that the vehicles are being "cut up" according to plan.

Russia will undoubtedly travel its part of the way. But military men and diplomats believe that serious problems have arisen for its security with the change in the political map.

With the loss of the Transcaucasus and Odessa military districts Russia has received a minimum of combat vehicles at its southern, very unsettled borders.

In addition social problems are being aggravated in connection with the fact that we do not have an opportunity to deploy on our Southern flank the units which are being withdrawn from Western Europe. Russia has raised the question of amending the terms of the treaty.

NATO realizes that the "flank" problem exists for Russia and that it must be resolved. But a lot of thought will have to be devoted to how to do this.

Kokoshin, France's Leotard Discuss Defense Issues

LD3011192093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1612
GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Russia's First Deputy Minister of Defence Andrey Kokoshin has completed a brief working trip to France during which he discussed the two countries' military policies and doctrines with French Defence Minister Francois Leotard, his first deputy Henri Cons and managers of a number of major industrial companies which produce the latest weapons. Conversion of defence enterprises to civilian production, their diversification and prospects for military-technical cooperation between the two countries were also discussed.

Observers say the meetings marked the enhancing commonality of the two countries' positions concerning an entire range of pressing international military-political issues in the spirit of the best traditions of cooperation between Russia and France. Both sides expressed doubt about the advisability of expanding the membership of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation by admitting some East-European countries to NATO, a move that has been widely discussed by the media across the world lately.

The visit paved the way towards a forthcoming meeting in Moscow between Russian defence minister, Army General Pavel Grachev and French Defence Minister Francois Leotard, according to the Russian Defence Ministry press centre.

EC Restriction on Aluminum Imports Condemned

LD3011181493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Russia has condemned a European Community restriction on imports of Russian-produced aluminium to EC countries due to take effect from December 1, a foreign trade official told Interfax on Tuesday [30 November]. However, he stressed that no formal paper on EC sanctions had so far been made available to the Russian government.

Unconfirmed reports say the EC is planning to impose an import quota of 45,000 tonnes of Russian aluminium for a period between December and next March. Under an earlier restriction, Russia was allowed a quota of 60,000 tons in the four preceding months.

In the meantime, official counts say Russia's monthly aluminium exports ran at more than 100,000 tons this year with EC nations importing about 50 percent on average.

The Russian official said the issue would dominate the agenda of aluminium-producing countries meeting for three days of talks in Washington on Wednesday. These include Russia, Australia, Norway, Canada, the United States and an EC delegation. The meeting is most likely to oppose the idea of restriction quotas, the official said.

Grachev, Cuban Officials Discuss 'New Realities'

PM3011142793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at Defense Ministry"]

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense, had a meeting 27 November with Division General Julio Casas Regueiro, first deputy

minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba. During the talks there was an exchange of opinions on problems of the development of Russian-Cuban military and military-technical ties with due regard for the new realities. Other questions of mutual interest were also discussed.

Japan Protests Detention of Fishing Captain

LD3011175893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Japan has protested to Russia over last week's incident in which Russian border guards wounded and detained the captain of a Japanese fishing vessel in the area of the South Kurils.

ITAR-TASS reports that an official spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated this today.

As has already been reported, Russian border guards fired at a Japanese schooner fishing illegally in Russian waters on 26 November.

The Japanese protest note about this incident stresses that the Japanese vessel was attacked in Japanese territorial waters. Tokyo demands that the captain and his schooner should be immediately handed over to the Japanese side.

Mongolian Prime Minister Views Relations

LD2611170293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo November 26 TASS—The implementation of agreements reached at a meeting of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Mongolian leader Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat on January 20, 1993, in Moscow corresponds to the interests of the sides, visiting Mongolian Prime Minister Puntsagiyn Jasray told ITAR-TASS here today.

Mongolia and Russia are neighbours, their histories have much in common. Both states have entered a path of democratic reforms and transition to the market economy, said the official. As for bilateral economic relations, culture, science and arts, it is important to develop cooperation since Moscow and Ulan Bator have common interests in these spheres, he added.

Mongolia gives a priority to the development of close cooperation in scientific technologies, intellectual and cultural exchanges with various states, including Japan, whose share in the overall foreign aid annually rendered to Mongolia runs into 30 per cent, said Puntsagiyn Jasray.

Political & Media Issues**Yeltsin Names Chernoyvanov State Committee Chairman***LD3011172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1627 GMT 30 Nov 93**[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]*

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict appointing Vyacheslav Chernoyvanov chairman of the Russian State Committee for Machine-Building and Servicing for Agriculture and the Food and Processing Industry. ITAR-TASS was informed of this by the Russian president's press service.

Before the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Chernoyvanov was the union's minister of agriculture.

Chernomyrdin Seeks Deputy at 'Power' Ministry*LD0112135493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1303 GMT 1 Dec 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin wants to have yet another, the tenth deputy who would be responsible for the so-called "power ministries", i.e. of interior, defence and security.

Chernomyrdin plans to request the president to okay the new post, according to head of the legal department at the president Aleksandr Kotenkov. [sentence as received]

He told reporters on Wednesday [1 December] that the issue was discussed by Chernomyrdin and Deputy Premier Sergey Shakhrai and the prime minister said he would refer a corresponding request to the president in the near future.

Kotenkov said that no candidate for the post had been discussed yet, but added that it would not be "a lobbyist of the power ministries, but a civilian keen in political issues".

Currently there are three first deputy and six deputy prime ministers in the Russian Government.

'War' Over TV Channel 4 Continues*PM3011154393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 12**[Report by Lidiya Polskaya: "War for Channel 4"]*

[Text] On 23 November ITAR-TASS channels broadcast President Boris Yeltsin's Edict: "On Operating the Eighth Television Channel (Moscow City)." A few hours later ITAR-TASS killed this item. But as a rule whatever reaches editorial office desks becomes public property. A

brief item was shown in all television news broadcasts. Nevertheless it does, in our view, require explanation.

If when issuing the edict the president was not, as the presidential press service statement says, "privy to the multitude of contradictory circumstances" of the protracted war between television companies, the viewer is even less able to work it out. He does what he is supposed to: He watches his own television, turning the knobs but not very easily identifying which television company is offering him something really worth watching.

The war between the "eighth channel" (known in viewers' parlance as Channel 4) and the new Independent Television company began about three months ago.

Independent Television had designs on "Channel Four," which is now shared between "Russian Universities" ("Rossiya" All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company) and "Ostankino." Independent Television is backed by major banking capital—the "Most" group and several respectable banks. Many stars from the "Ostankino" news service have switched over to Independent Television. Independent television is very promising and judging from the first programs, which we watch via St. Petersburg, this promise can be fulfilled. There are enough resources and ambitions. Professionals have been assembled. Its intentions are quite normal. The new independent television company needs only one thing to get the show on the road: television space, its own airtime. Under the edict Independent Television received this space and time.

On the other side there is the already recognized "Channel 4," which has Dmitriy Dibrov on Sundays, who is self-confidently ready to talk to the entire country as long as his Rube Goldberg equipment [kulibinskoye ustroystvo] is working, "Beau Monde," and the "Vremenchko" program. "Channel 4" has an established audience, its own image, and increasing ratings.

The most logical and the strictly legal route which could have been taken several months ago is a competition for license ownership.

Both television companies are competing for the same television channel, bringing in influential politicians on their side. At the beginning of September many newspapers linked the name of Igor Malashenko—president of Independent Television—with that of Vladimir Shumeyko, who has apparently already promised Channel 4 channel to the new television company. Now, when talking about the president's recalled edict, Tatyana Mitkova bluntly said that virtually the only person capable of "disavowing the president's edict" is Mikhail Poltoranin, a staunch supporter of state television.

Thus, does the future of television and of both society's awareness and citizens' leisure once again depend on who in which Kremlin office will emerge victorious? But this is a dead-end argument which could prevent society from solving its own problems; there is another reason for the struggle. It does not at all depend on specific

politicians and the disposition of forces at the top at a given time. This reason is simple and has been known to everyone for a long time—our technological poverty. During his tenure Leonid Kravchenko triumphantly promised to add a national television channel only by the beginning of the 21st century.

Anatoliy Malkin and Igor Malashenko would not be fighting for a place in a two-bit television channel, were this famous Channel 4 not as of today the last channel whose reception area can be redivided without recourse to decimeter wavelengths, which by no means all viewers can get.

As regards today, most likely there is still a long time to wait before the conflict is resolved.

The Independent Television company's press secretary reported that the suspension of Yeltsin's edict came as a complete surprise to staffers. During the edict's drafting the television company had already started to develop a broadcasting network for the number of hours indicated in the document (58 hours). The television company's plans included the showing of feature and documentary films, its own twice-daily news broadcasts, and the making of public affairs, entertainment, and children's programs. At the same time Independent Television intended to leave its daily news broadcast on the St. Petersburg channel.

The company is currently trying in every way to ascertain the reasons why the edict did not come into force. Asked precisely which ways, the press secretary explained: "Journalistic. We are trying to telephone the president's press service."

The leaders of "Channel 4" declined to comment, citing the complexity and unpredictability of the situation.

Ostankino Official on Yeltsin Decree

LD3011220393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The deputy head of Russia's Ostankino Television and Radio Company said the presidential decree putting the company's Channel Four under the jurisdiction of NTV (Independent Television) had been totally unexpected for Ostankino's management.

Kirill Ignatyev, at a news conference in Moscow on Tuesday [30 November], did not confirm news media reports that the decree had been suspended at the advice of Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center. "Poltoranin had no contact with the president that day," Ignatyev said.

He said the decree had been suspended soon after a conversation between President Boris Yeltsin and Ostankino chief Vyacheslav Bragin. At present a new presidential decree on Channel Four was being drafted, but was unlikely to be signed before December 12, Ignatyev said.

Commenting on Ostankino's conflict with NTV, Ignatyev said the Ostankino management believed the channel should only be denationalized on the basis of competition and rejected presidential decrees as a means of dealing with such matters.

"We wish to set up an independent, non-governmental television company on the basis of Channel Four," Ignatyev said. He said talks on funding the project had already been started with major financial institutions.

The talks would be more fruitful if the ban on the privatization of state TV companies imposed by the former parliament were lifted, Ignatyev said. He said Ostankino made no claim to the controlling interest in the new company.

He said another new TV company might soon come into being in Russia, based on a channel formerly used by the military, who would no longer need it due to the defense conversion.

'Scandal' Over ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Changes Looms

MK3011130093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in
Russian 30 Nov 93 p 15

[Report by Mikhail Lashch: "Conflict Over Government Newspaper. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI May Turn Into DERZHAVA"]

[Text] A scandal over ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, the government mouthpiece, is in the offing. Yesterday, government personnel completed the drafting of a statute on temporarily suspending the newspaper, replacing the editor in chief, and changing its logo: ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI will be renamed DERZHAVA [THE STATE].

According to reports received by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent from well-informed sources at the government staff, the upcoming changes have been caused by differences of views on the government press in general between the government chairman and Valeriy Kucher, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI chief editor: By some accounts, the chief editor refused to veto the publication of materials that had not been approved by the government press service, and also of articles that were "too outspoken" in interpreting the president's and the government's policies.

Igor Shabdurasulov, assistant chief of the presidential administration, would not confirm reports about the upcoming changes, although some of his colleagues are certain that Filatov's assistant is familiar with these matters. The member of the presidential administration, speaking with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, would only reveal that in general the problem of the government press does exist and that the matter of streamlining the list of government publications has yet to be resolved. "I have not yet seen any documents on changing the legal jurisdiction or on personnel matters,"

Filatov's assistant summed up. Still, KOMMERSANT-DAILY has learned that ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's reorganization will take place—under the motto of streamlining the operation of the government press.

One of the main problems recently facing the executive authorities is the distribution of information on the Council of Ministers's operation. Obviously, government chiefs are interested in seeing that only official information approved by the government appears on the pages of these newspapers. The Council of Ministers has been trying to turn its press service, an agency responsible for filtering information out to the press and also preventing leaks, into a formidable information concern that would not only be entrusted with clerical functions, but would be an owner of newspapers, a radio, and a television channel. Steps to set up a structure like this were taken back in mid-October, when Viktor Chernomyrdin issued a decree whereby the government press service was given the former parliamentary television studio with all its equipment.

Political analysts point out in this respect that converting the government press service into an information concern of sorts with exclusive rights to distribute information on the government's operation will bring about negative consequences. The concentration of extremely broad rights regarding the management of the mass media means that henceforth these powers will be used to see to it that all information coming from Staraya Ploshchad [seat of government] will make the government appear only in a favorable light.

DEN To Resume Publishing Under New Name

LD2911165193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, one of the most odious newspapers in Russia, DEN, began publishing again recently. Admittedly, it will now be called ZAVTRA [TOMORROW]. Staff on this newspaper assure us that it will be more restrained than before, not because it has changed its views but because it fears the possibility of being closed a second time.

IZVESTIYA Privatization Case Gets Bugged Down

MK3011125093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 14

[Report by Yekaterina Zapodinskaya under "Court Proceedings Over Privatization of IZVESTIYA" rubric: "Federal Fund Withdraws Suit Against State Property Committee"]

[Text] Yesterday, after a four-month break, the High Arbitration Court resumed consideration of the suit by the Federal Property Fund and the IZVESTIYA publishers against the Russian State Property Management

Committee [SPMC]. The plaintiffs demanded that corporatization of IZVESTIYA, accompanied by the inclusion of its multistory building on Tverskaya Street into its charter capital, be deemed illegitimate. At yesterday's session a letter was read out by Vladimir Sokolov, the Federal Fund's new chairman, on the full abandonment of claims against the SPMC. The publishing house, however, still hopes for a victory in the litigation since it has now passed under the jurisdiction of the Russian presidential administration.

As KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported earlier, in October 1992 the SPMC approved the statute of the "IZVESTIYA Editorial Staff" joint stock company, including the eight-story building (18/1 Tverskaya Street) into its charter fund. The IZVESTIYA publishing house demanded that the building, which has been on its balance sheet for decades, be returned to it. The Federal Fund also insisted that the paper's privatization be annulled, alleging that the editorial staff was registered as a limited liability partnership and that the SPMC had no right to privatize a private enterprise, let alone cede to it an eight-story building "for next to nothing" (13 million rubles).

At one of the court sessions the editorial staff presented a permit for privatization of the paper, "backdated" by Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. Even so, in July 1993 the Supreme Soviet told the government to rescind this order, whereupon the court suspended the case. Predictably, the Council of Ministers did not annul the decision.

It was announced at yesterday's session that one of the plaintiffs—the Federal Fund, now under the government's jurisdiction—has recalled its suit. This confirmed IZVESTIYA chief editor Igor Golembiovskiy's supposition that the fund's suit was of a purely political character ("to settle scores with a paper unamenable to the Supreme Soviet"). Nonetheless, the publishing house pressed its demands—Deputy Director Sergey Gutov told the court that recently the publishing house has passed under the jurisdiction of the Russian presidential administration and that therefore it intends to reregister under its control. The court ruling, which postponed the consideration of the suit until after the publishing house has been reregistered (28 December), strongly upset Mr. Golembiovskiy who will now apparently have to open legal proceedings against the presidential administration. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report on the court decision as soon as it has been made.

Burbulis Discusses October Events, Western Aid

BR0112113893 Milan PANORAMA in Italian 28 Nov 93 pp 117-121

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, aide to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by Carlo Rossella and Francesco Bigazzi in Moscow on 11 November]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [PANORAMA] Gennadiy Eduardovich, is it true that on the night of 3-4 October you played a crucial role alongside Boris Yeltsin?

[Burbulis] That is a journalistic exaggeration. On that night many people acted to halt the coup and to reveal the conspiracy. I only used my experience gained in recent years in order to orient myself in the crisis. In one respect I was successful, and in another, I was not.

[PANORAMA] In what way?

[Burbulis] I greatly regret the fact that the October events have not been properly assessed. For instance, it has not yet been made clear why the fascist and communist groups were able to circulate armed in Moscow, unobstructed. It was known that there were in Russia extremist gangs that were training in guerrilla methods and the use of weapons. But for some unknown reason, nobody found them or destroyed them. It has not yet been established why there were so many weapons and so much money in the White House, and what can we say about another scandalous fact: President Yeltsin declared a state of emergency, but the ministers responsible—for security, the interior, and defense—thought about it for several hours before acting? In such instances there should be no hesitation. The real conspirators were neutralized, thank God, but only partly. Many of them are at large, working under cover, and have not relinquished their plans. They are in hiding and have certainly not given up.

[PANORAMA] What were the decisive forces in your victory?

[Burbulis] The citizens, who went into the streets in their thousands on the night of 3-4 October to demonstrate their support for us, to defend the reforms and freedom. That was a clear challenge to the military, which was hesitating. Then President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chemomyrdin, who did not yield for a moment. Last, the military groups that took part in the assault on the Russian Soviet, from the Alfa group to the tank regiment and the Interior Ministry's special units.

[PANORAMA] What will happen in the future to those who hesitated, from Interior Minister Viktor Yerin to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and KGB chief Nikolay Golushko?

[Burbulis] After the elections the new parliament must carry out a thorough reform of the ministries that constitute Russia's fundamental structure—that is, the Interior, Defense, and Security Ministries. Hitherto we have been able to do very little in this regard. Since the 1991 coup there has been no total purge of the staff of these structures. The reason is simple. Until just over a month ago Russia was prey to a sharp political struggle between the communist-nationalist-fascist forces and the nascent democratic forces. What was previously impossible can now be achieved. The important thing is that the democratic bloc command a decisive majority in the new parliament.

[PANORAMA] Is there a danger that it will not?

[Burbulis] Of course. The Red-Black forces could score a success and manage to sabotage democracy and the reforms in the new Duma too. They must be prevented from doing so through the vote. The West should be worried about the communist threat in Russia. And not criticize Yeltsin, as some do. For the past three years we have been making a painful transition from the Soviet totalitarian system to democracy. And this is the main characteristic of all the processes developing within Russia. The West makes a superficial assessment of the special characteristics of this period. Some critics and observers, even if they are in good faith, have forgotten the diabolical and macabre substance of the Soviet system. Our aim is a new state and social system in Russia based on three principles—freedom, ownership, and legality. And we want to achieve this historic transformation quickly.

[PANORAMA] You are considered one of the strategists of the new Russia. What should be the nature of this nation, emerging from the chaos caused by the fall of the empire?

[Burbulis] I am no strategist. I am a citizen who is doing his duty. We must recognize an essential link between our historical tradition, our cultural and national values and those of modern civilization at the end of the 20th century. We must try to avert nationalistic ambitions linked to the vision of a special, unique, unrepeatable path for Russia, and at the same time avoid a slavish imitation of Western civilization. Russia—the largest country in the world—is composed of different regions which live in different centuries from the viewpoint of traditions and day-to-day existence, the development of their production bases, their structures, and communications.

I hope that we will succeed in creating a stable and integrated country, a democratic presidential republic built on the principles of constitutional federalism, based on the values of freedom, human rights, the autonomy of the regions and of the territories, and on the equality of the various kinds of ownership. There is a great deal to reform, and we will not succeed in this without the political restructuring of society, in the form of parties and representation. It is also necessary that the judicial authorities be truly independent from the political authorities. Over 70 years of communist regime destroyed the market, democracy, and the separation of powers.

[PANORAMA] Nevertheless some say that "we were better off when things were worse," that the reforms have brought terrible poverty. It is said even by the Italian left, in love with Mikhail Gorbachev...

[Burbulis] Every rapid and radical transformation entails very high social costs. If anyone—in the West, too—has useful recipes for extricating us from communism and the militarized, centralized, and state-controlled economy without paying any price, let him come to the Kremlin and present them to President Yeltsin.

[PANORAMA] Your polemical references to the West suggest that you agree with Pope John Paul II's criticisms of the West's miserliness with respect to Russia.

[Burbulis] It is true, the pope is right. The West has not done much. But we do not need gifts or charity. What we need is long-term strategic cooperation. The West must realize that sooner or later our economic, moral, and intellectual resources will place us in the vanguard. This must be the starting point. We have a resolute determination to establish the bases of a market economy and democracy in Russia. These are the facts. Let us leave all the rest to roundtables. It is impossible to evade the music of life. And the winners now are those who are able to hear it. Believe me, in Russia the melodies of a state in a phase of rebirth, with an unparalleled sense of dignity, are becoming increasingly insistent.

Election Issues

Court Says Blocs Free To Criticize Constitution

LD0112102593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1014 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—The Information Arbitration Court turned down the request to bar two parties, which criticised the draft constitution, from elections.

The court ruled on Wednesday that all candidates are free to "independently determine the form and contents of their electoral performances and speak out on any issue including the draft constitution".

The court stated that the appeal to the Central Electoral Commission filed by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko which condemned agitating against the draft constitution "was not based on the law on electoral agitation".

Shumeyko had asked the commission to bar the Communist Party and the Democratic Party from December parliamentary elections and to study all cases of propaganda against the draft by other four electoral blocs.

Filatov Says No Changes To Draft Constitution Ballots

LD3011175193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1638 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Krasnogorsk, Moscow Region November 30 TASS—Yeltsin's Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov told a conference here today that no changes will be made to the ballot papers already printed for the referendum on Russia's new constitution set for December 12. The voters will be asked just one question: "Do you approve of the new constitution of the Russian Federation?"

Filatov also said no changes would be made to the text of the draft constitution before December 12. He drew the attention of journalists to the fact that the media had lately increasingly often circulated "lies".

Filatov, who was speaking to the heads of administration of the districts within the Moscow Region, pointed to recent speculations in the press about the possible merger of Moscow City and the Moscow Region in a new federal district. Filatov said Yeltsin asked him to tell the voters in the region that those publications "were absolutely not true to fact". Filatov quoted Yeltsin as saying such reports were "acts of political provocation" and confirmed that "no intentions of this kind existed or exist".

Moscow Region Administration Head Anatoliy Tyazhlov added that contrary to allegations, no such plan had been discussed with Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov.

Filatov on Importance of Adopting Constitution

PM3011141993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Groundless Speculation by Opposition. S. Filatov Meets Representatives of Regional Mass Media"]

[Text] There is no more important task for us now than to adopt the new Constitution at the 12 December referendum, Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation President's Administration, stated at a meeting with representatives of the regional mass media.

According to him, there will be no deadlock if the Constitution is not adopted—the new parliament will continue work on the draft fundamental law. But the reforms will be held up for as long as it takes to adopt it. Moreover, a major political confrontation could emerge which would lead to more tragic consequences. "We need legal protection for society from madmen and the madness we have lived through," Sergey Filatov said.

At the same time, he admitted that, judging from citizens' letters, few people have read the text of the Constitution. "We have started explaining it without informing people of its content," the head of the administration noted. In his opinion, opposition leaders are basing their disinformation on people's ignorance. The text of the Constitution has been published in the main newspapers and in separate brochures. There were plans to print it in sufficient numbers for "each mailbox" to have a copy, but this would have cost 5 billion rubles, so we must make maximum use of radio and television.

Analyzing in detail the differences between the existing Constitution and the new draft version, Sergey Filatov refuted a number of claims by opposition candidates. In particular, the adoption of the fundamental law at the referendum does not mean that its provisions cannot be changed. The fact that amending the first two chapters on the foundations of the constitutional system and

human and civic rights and freedoms will require the convening of a Constitutional Assembly which would either decide the issue itself or put it to a nationwide vote is another matter. As for the other chapters, they can be changed under the usual procedure stipulated for the adoption of a federal constitutional law.

When Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov and, regrettably, the Yavlinskiy Bloc state that the Constitution cannot be adopted in a referendum, Sergey Filatov continued, they are reaffirming their own ideology whereby the people cannot rule independently, but only through specially formed organs.

The head of the President's Administration pointed out the groundlessness of the speculation that the new fundamental law creates a "dictatorial regime." The Constitution clearly demarcates the powers of the legislature and the executive, he noted. And the president has no more power than before. On the contrary, he will now need to coordinate certain issues—the appointment of ambassadors, for instance—with parliament. The fundamental law, Sergey Filatov added, provides for "checks" [zamki] everywhere so as to prevent one branch of power from rising above another—particularly on issues concerning joint competence.

Confident of Approval

LD3011202393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Sergey Filatov, the Russian president's chief of staff, expressed confidence that the constitutional draft would be approved at the December 12 referendum. He admitted that he had "certain doubts" about the outcome of the voting but said that "confidence prevailed."

In an interview he gave Interfax following a meeting with the public in Krasnogorsk, a town on the outskirts of Moscow, Filatov denied rumors that the electorate would vote on the draft article-wise. He said that the ballots had been printed and would not be amended.

Filatov said that the National Security Council did not intend to discuss the crisis situation in coal and gas mining areas because this issue was the competence of the government. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, he explained, discussed this issue with his deputies who visited him in Valday where he is on vacation.

Stankevich Doubtful About New Constitution

LD3011202793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] There is some apprehension about the chances of the new basic law being approved at the December referendum, presidential adviser and candidate of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRUC] Sergey Stankevich said in Moscow on Tuesday. He said that different political groups from communists and nationalists down to separate pro-democracy blocs were opposed to the new constitution. These included the

Yavlinskiy-led alliance, Nikolay Travkin's Democratic Party and all of the moderates in the center.

Many of the republics are also critical about the draft new constitution. "This is a dangerous trend," said Stankevich, "given that the constitution is expected to become a stabilizing factor and set down the main rules of the political game and enshrine the principles of Russian federalism."

In his view, the center is in a bad position after Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, which declared their sovereignty, will not hear of renouncing it. The new constitution proclaiming the principle of one Russia will redress the situation though discussions on that issue may well continue, Stankevich said.

If the constitution is rejected, he said, the government may embark on a path of decrees to rule the country leading to the use of emergency measures as a result.

Stankevich says the electorate's mood in respect to rival alliances may well change a week before the polling day and that current polls do not reflect the true picture.

The Russia's Choice alliance is a sure favorite, he said, adding that the PRUC and Yavlinskiy-led coalition might romp home next after it. Stankevich does not rule out that the communists and agrarians may also enlist substantial support.

Poltoranin Calls For Approval of Constitution

LD3011161693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Chief of the Federal Information Center Mikhail Poltoranin has called for the immediate approval of the new constitution in order to keep up the pace of Russia's reforms. Speaking in Moscow on Monday [29 November], he said this must be the starting point of the Yeltsin-mapped political reforms.

The new constitution has all that Russia and Russians need, including real power sharing, regional sovereignty and human rights, Poltoranin said.

He said the adoption of the new basic law was all the more urgent given that government officials, whose duty is to embrace reforms, had joined different political alliances each preaching its own reform path. The new constitution will eventually determine the main political and economic course as a starting point for the country's reforms, Poltoranin said.

He denied allegations saying the constitution was heavily tipped in favor of the presidency, vesting sweeping powers on the head of state and curtailing the authority of parliament.

Poltoranin says the new parliament will be strong enough to adopt laws to amend clauses of the constitution - which will serve as a mere basis for political and economic legislation in the future.

The FIC chief spoke of putting forward proposals to the president which will allow newspapers and magazines to become independent from government structures. However, the media reform must be carried out under the president's aegis in the initial stage, Poltoranin believes. Plans are in progress to transfer all central and regional publications to their staff by next March, though government financing must be retained until the end of 1994. Poltoranin said the president had supported the idea of tax benefits and tax exemption to the independent mass media.

Mityukov: Constitution Vote More Important Than Elections

PM3011141793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Commentary by Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation President, under the "Forecast" rubric: "Referendum Is Main Event in December"]

[Text] Of all the events which will take place in December, the number one event is the referendum on the draft Constitution. I consider that this is an order of magnitude more significant for our state than even the elections to the State Duma and the Federation Council, because the Constitution determines whether we will receive a juridical base for stable economic and political development, or whether we will once again be cast back to the positions which we occupied in September.

Debates about the Constitution will start again, and in our country these debates always boil down to problems of an ideological and political nature. This means that the reforms will again go awry, we will again have political chatter and political battles, and we will all forget what it was all organized for.

I nevertheless believe that the majority of the electorate will vote in favor of the Constitution, because I believe that common sense must prevail. If this does not happen, then it will be hard to predict events. They will obviously be graphically politicized. I fear that there may be another outburst of rally activity, and it is not out of the question that people will come out onto the streets—those who support the supporters of [as published] the left wing. That is, once again there will be no stability...

U.S. Taxpayers Said Funding Party Advertising

PM3011145693 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "Political Furor Over Advertisement. Is 'Russia's Choice' Privatizing American Taxpayers' Money?"]

[Text] As election day approaches, the struggle between the parties and candidates seeking seats in parliament becomes ever more acute. We are not yet accustomed to an open, democratic campaign, and therefore the debates not infrequently go beyond the generally

accepted civilized bounds. Even after the president's edict on information guarantees, the torrent of contenders' appearances and television advertising raining down on the Russians is generating plenty of clashes, sometimes requiring the intervention of the Arbitration Court, the press, and even the Central Electoral Commission. An absurd chance whereby privatization advertising became intermingled with the election campaign has caused ripples from one of these TV furors to spread beyond Russia, as far as the other hemisphere.

The vigorous actions of the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property, actions which will most likely be passed off as just another blunder in our frantic preelection activities, are in danger of causing serious complications for the Clinton administration.

The latest report published by the U.S. Agency for International Development, a governmental organization which has coordinated aid to the countries of the former Soviet Union, leaves no room for doubt that American taxpayers' money was used for campaigning on behalf of the "Russia's Choice" bloc. One of the bloc's leaders is Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property.

The Agency for International Development (AID) embarked more than a year ago on a program of aid to Russia in the implementation of privatization. As is customary in the West, where governments seldom play the part of direct agents but entrust this role to experienced private firms, a competition was held. The winner was the big New York firm Sawyer-Miller. Working in close contact with the State Committee for the Management of State Property, or rather acting as collective adviser to the committee, the firm financed publicity, research, and methodological measures which, in its view, helped to accelerate and establish this process in Russia.

In order to avoid getting bogged down in the ramifications of the financial and administrative hierarchy, it is important to remember that the firm Sawyer-Miller was not using its own money: It was only responsible for operational management of \$12.2 million collected from U.S. taxpayers. It is therefore not surprising that one of the most important conditions of its activity was the creation of jobs for its own people, for Americans.

On the other hand, it was also quite impossible for the firm to lay down the law about privatization in Russia—both for reasons of political ethics, and because the last word, under the law, always rested with the Russians.

The firm numbers among its achievements the holding of the first auction of trucks in Nizhniy Novgorod, privatization in Volgograd, and documents regarding preparations for land reform.

Its small-scale successes include the financing of advertisements specially designed for television. One of them was called "Your Voucher—Your Choice."

For reasons which the New York firm prefers not to make public, relations between it and the leadership of the State Committee for the Management of State Property have become strained in the past few months. At the end of October "they asked us to stop making advertising components for the commercial campaign in favor of privatization"—here THE WASHINGTON POST is quoting the words of M. Brown, a partner in the Sawyer-Miller group. "We then handed over to the State Committee for the Management of State Property all the publicity materials, including that advertisement."

"That advertisement" has a title which looks very similar to "Your Voucher—Your Choice," but sounds different.

It sounds like this: "Your Choice—'Russia's Choice.'"

Although AID representative R. Porter stated that "the AID does not pay for the creation or dissemination of political advertising in Russia," this has more to do with intentions than reality. Because the facts cited by Porter himself indicate the opposite: Political advertising created with money from the U.S. exchequer is being used for the benefit of one election party in Russia. The advertisement "Your Choice—'Russia's Choice,'" the same report says, was shown on television once a day from 16 through 21 November.

Within the framework of U.S. electoral legislation, such an abuse of government levers would lead to a public and independent investigation. Even if a criminal prosecution—which is very probable—is ruled out, the attractiveness of a party which uses another state's resources—and without its knowledge—for its own self-seeking purposes, would plummet below the level of the acceptable.

Although the line embodied by such promising "Russia's Choice" politicians as Ye. Gaydar, B. Fedorov, A. Kozyrev, A. Chubays, and others obviously enjoys sympathy in the White House, the administration, being under constant pressure from public opinion, cannot and will not wish to justify episodes like the "privatization" of American advertising.

Goskomimushchestvo Aide on Ad

PM0112100393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30
Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Dmitriy Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, by Igor Karpenko; place and date not given: "State Committee for the Management of State Property Denies Malicious Intent, But Admits Oversight"]

[Text] The editors have learned that the conflict around the unfortunate advertisement trailer is snowballing: Some U.S. newspapers and agencies have already been drawn into it, and foreign correspondents are besieging the leaders of the "Russia's Choice" bloc and the State

Committee for the Management of State Property [Goskomimuchestvo], demanding explanations. I asked Goskomimuchestvo Deputy Chairman Dmitriy Vasilyev to explain the situation regarding the trailer: Do U.S. newspaper reports correspond to the truth?

[Vasilyev] First of all, the claim that the firm "Sawyer-Miller" was involved in auctioning trucks in Nizhniy Novgorod, privatization in Volgograd, or land reform does not correspond to the truth. I say this first and foremost because such a claim could offend the International Financial Corporation and certain other Western firms which really participated in this and seriously helped privatizers in these territories. "Sawyer-Miller's" help consisted only of some advice on advertising given to local organs of privatization.

[Karpenko] Please explain, Dmitriy Valeryevich, what happened with the firm's trailer to give it the character of a political advertisement?

[Vasilyev] The gist is as follows. This trailer, which is well known to TV viewers, has a coda, which initially encapsulated, as it were, the conclusion to be drawn from the advert—"your voucher is your choice." Incidentally, this coda has already been changed several times, depending on the character, content, or location of the section. It is true that in mid-November the phrase "Your choice is Russia's choice" appeared in the text. According to the whole logic of the text, according to the sense of it, it is only about privatization. Undoubtedly, one thing only is meant: Privatization is Russia's choice. There are no "inverted commas" around the words "Russia's choice," no harping on this combination of words in the voice-over. Nothing that could suggest the political bloc "Russia's Choice."

This is the unambiguous conclusion of the official investigation which we undertook. Nevertheless, this is a "slip" just the same, and it is just as certain that those who prepared the text made a mistake. Namely—the ambiguity, the possibility of a political interpretation. Therefore we will punish those responsible for the awkward situation arising. Unfortunately, I did not see or approve the changes in the text of the trailer beforehand. But part of the blame lies on my shoulders: It is my press service, and I am personally responsible for advertising.

Of course, we at once withdrew this trailer from hire. We officially apologized in writing to the Agency for International Development, which, without wishing it or even realizing, unexpectedly found itself in a political "storm." But I categorically deny that Chubays or any of Goskomimuchestvo's leaders gave orders to make political changes to a business advertisement.

[Karpenko] What sum was spent on the trailer and hiring it?

[Vasilyev] Right now I am trying to find out who precisely paid for what trailers, for their production and airtime. This is far from simple—there are many invoices which have not yet been presented to us. Right now there is even a suggestion that Goskomimuchestvo

paid for everything. In a few days, when I get to the bottom of all this, I will make a statement about it officially and honestly. But, of course, the key thing is not actually who paid for the advertisement, or how much. I think that it is perfectly clear to everyone that no Western funds were used, and could not be used for political advertising, moreover, not only under U.S. laws, but also under ours...

I fully endorse Yegor Timurovich Gaydar's statement when he told the correspondent of THE LOS ANGELES TIMES that "Russia's Choice" does not need such sources of funds as aid from Western states, and that there are sufficient commercial structures and personal funds in Russia. But, more importantly, the leaders of this bloc have enough political influence of their own to be able to fully explain their position, even through interviews to the newspapers or television, without resorting to foreign aid.

[Karpenko] But you see, it was that very newspaper which seems to have given much play to the following line: Your contracts with "Sawyer-Miller" were severed because Goskomimuchestvo tried to force the firm into political advertising, which it resolutely refused.

[Vasilyev] I know about this, but such claims have nothing in common with reality. And I do not have to justify myself here. U.S. newspapers have already explained this themselves; for example THE WASHINGTON TIMES, which remarked that the breakdown of our relations is connected only with the quality of the firm's work, and not with politics, and anyway, happened before the decision on fresh parliamentary elections. But all the same, I want to explain to everyone the cause of the rift. The firm did not take account of the culturological peculiarities of our audience, the way Russian viewers perceive television programs. I can adduce a glaring example of such advertising. You probably remember it: A rider on horseback in the middle of a forest glade calling on people to come to check auctions where shares in industrial giants are sold. The advertisement definitely caused irritation among viewers—what goes down well in Texas is entirely unsuitable for Russians... [Vasilyev ends]

At the end of our talk Dmitriy Valyerevich resolutely refused to comment on my suggestion that the furor was initiated by the offended firm itself. In his opinion, journalists themselves, who keenly understand all the problems of using the money of U.S. taxpayers, were perfectly able to have noticed the change in the text of the advertisement. Well, that's "their ethics," their mentality. And one can only envy our American colleagues when, following their articles, society demands the resignation of top officials for the use of an official car for private purposes, or for a fence painted at the state's expense. In Russia, an attempt to cause a political furor over two new words in an advertising trailer would be interpreted as nothing but making a mountain out of molehill. Even if the editor were none too sympathetic to "Russia's Choice."

Election Campaign 'Nearing Completion'

LD0112000093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1720 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The Russian election campaign is nearing completion. Mass media bodies, especially television and the radio, influence much political likes and dislikes of the population, concluded Orenburg sociologist Galina Sheshukova who held two public opinion polls with a two-week break.

As soon as Travkin, Govorukhin and Zyuganov made their TV addresses, Orenburg residents gave preference to the Democratic and Communist Parties. In mid-November 0.8 per cent of Orenburg electors favored the Democratic Party, 4.1 per cent - the Communist Party and 11.6 per cent - the Russia's Choice; in late November the indices were 9.7 - 9.5 - 7.1 per cent correspondingly.

Some 57 per cent of Yaroslavl electors from students to pensioners plan to participate in the upcoming voting, according to the results of a public opinion poll held by the Independent Center of Regional Research and Information.

However, the majority of them are not sure about their favorites. It seems the new election mechanism is not clear especially to workers and countryside residents, and the multi-party election campaign does not make the situation easier.

According to the poll results, many electors will vote for local candidates.

The number of Yekaterinburg electors who prefer the parties of Nikolay Travkin and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has considerably increased. The number of supporters of the Democratic Party has almost doubled within the past two weeks, and the number of those favoring the Liberal-Democratic Party has increased by nearly five times, according to the results of a public opinion poll held by the Regional Committee for Relations with Public Associations and Studies of Public Opinion.

These parties are supported by correspondingly nine and eight per cent of the 500 polled Yekaterinburg residents.

The rating of the Russia's Choice bloc has considerably dropped in Belgorod, as it is supported by only 14.7 per cent of respondents in the recent opinion poll of the Belgorod administration's sociologists.

Communist candidates are leading with some 17.6 per cent, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc goes third with 8.3 per cent. These three are followed by the Civic Union bloc of Arkadiy Volskiy.

We hope the Urals will support us, Russian Communist Party Leader Gennadiy Zyuganov told a meeting with Yekaterinburg residents. He called for participation in the elections "to prevent the adoption of a dictator's

constitution" and added the Communists use the elections to inform people of their program to overcome crisis.

Zyuganov claims his party's access to mass media is infringed and it does not have a chance to hold a normal election campaign.

Preparations for Voting in Services Detailed

PM0112123793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 30 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General K.V. Bogdanov, head of the Defense Ministry working group on organizing and holding the elections and nationwide vote among troops and chief of the Main Directorate for Work with Personnel, by Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Andreyev and Captain Second Rank Leonid Mrochko; place and date not given: "The Army and Elections: Pressure Is Inadmissible"]

[Text] This is not the first time we have addressed the subject of the election campaign among the troops, but more and more new questions are arising as the elections approach, requiring amplification and elucidation. Therefore the editorial office turned once again to the working group on organizing and holding the elections and the nationwide vote among the troops, which has been set up in the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. It is headed by Lieutenant General Konstantin Bogdanov, chief of the Main Directorate for Work with Personnel. Today he once again answers questions from our nonstaff correspondents.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Konstantin Valentinovich, the election campaign has entered the most important and, if we may put it like this, saturated phase—the struggle for the votes of the electorate has begun. Tell us, is this reflected among the troops, and what problems exist here?

[Bogdanov] We get telephone calls practically every day from representatives of various electoral blocs and parties, asking to carry out propaganda events in the units. The closer the elections, the more calls we get. Candidate deputies and their agents ask for permission to meet with servicemen, to set out campaign materials on the territory, etc. This is surprising, since in my previous interview in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA I gave what I thought was an exhaustive answer to this question. But obviously I will have to repeat myself: It is forbidden to carry out any political campaigning, including election campaigning, on the territory of military units, combined units, and establishments of the Russian Federation Armed Forces.

Personnel have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with candidate deputies and their political programs by other means. The central newspapers are delivered to the troops on a collective subscription, and time is set aside in the daily routine for watching television programs and listening to the radio.

We understand that sociopolitical organizations and movements want to convey their election programs to servicemen, in order to secure a certain proportion of their votes in the elections. In this connection we have found a compromise solution. For the purposes of familiarizing servicemen voters with the lists of candidate deputies and the lists of electoral associations, as well as their programs, it is permitted to set out brief information, without any appraisals, in soldiers' and officers' clubs and in information and leisure rooms. These instructions have already been given.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The preparations for the elections and for the vote are being made within a strictly limited time frame. Is it possible to do everything when time is short?

[Bogdanov] There really is not enough time. But it is this that makes us work in a self-disciplined and efficient way, without unnecessary fuss. I am sure that we will cope. Much has already been done. Thus, electoral precincts and electoral commissions have been formed and voters' lists drawn up in units, military educational institutions, establishments, and organizations of the Defense Ministry by the deadline set in the plan. An explanation of the Russian Federation president's edicts and the statutes which he approved on the elections and the nationwide vote has been organized for servicemen during the hours set aside for educational work, and consultations are being held. All the necessary documentation has been obtained for electoral precincts outside Russia and is being delivered by military transport aircraft to the places. The necessary funds have been allocated from the Central Electoral Commission's budget to carry out measures of the election campaign in the Armed Forces. So everything is going according to plan.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The text of the Russian Federation Constitution has been published in the press. How has work on studying it been organized?

[Bogdanov] There are texts of the draft Fundamental Law in all subunits' information and leisure rooms and in the libraries of military units and garrisons. Take it and read it in your free time. I must say that servicemen are showing great interest in this document. But sometimes they need skilled assistance. Therefore organs for work with personnel have been set the task of organizing its study with all categories of servicemen, with members of their families, and with civilian personnel. Information sessions are being held with the participation of leading personnel of the Defense Ministry, the branches of the Armed Forces, and the categories of troops and commanding officers of units and combined units, and meetings are being held with military social scientists and jurists. Lessons have been planned in the system of public and state training, and the necessary teaching time has been allocated.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Are there any problems which you have not yet managed to resolve?

[Bogdanov] Many problems arise. We ourselves resolve technical problems. But there are also ones which require

assistance from the Central Electoral Commission. For example, an understanding attitude has not been taken everywhere to the decision to have servicemen vote outside military units—which is linked with the additional burden on precinct electoral commissions. We also possess information that attempts are being made in a number of cities and regions to pressure servicemen. A solution to questions of their social protection is dependent on the results of the vote and support for a particular candidate deputy.

On the whole, the situation in the units is stable. No negative manifestations connected with the election campaign which has begun have been observed in military collectives. This is the most important thing. The Army is making serious preparations for the elections and the vote.

Electoral Commission To Discuss Media Campaign

LD0112143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov announced on Wednesday [1 December] that he had approved the draft decree, prepared on commission from the president, which exempts the district electoral commissions and election associations from tax contributions and payments to non-budgeted funds. This is expected to increase the financing of the election campaign by 13%.

The elections to the Federal Assembly are expected to cost 170 Bn [Billion] rubles and the referendum on the draft constitution 82 Bn rubles.

At 16:00 on Wednesday the Central Electoral Commission will discuss the work of the media to highlight the election campaign.

Ryabov said that before the end of the week the Central Electoral Commission must prepare to discuss the appeal of First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko.

On Monday Shumeyko sent a letter to the Central Electoral Commission urging it to bar the Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Russia from the election campaign because of their sharp criticism of the draft constitution. He also urged this commission to issue a warning to the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, the Agrarian Party, the Future of Russia-New Names alliance and the Civic Union for the same reason.

Zhirinovskiy: Elections Give Chance To Resolve Crisis

LD3011154493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Rejection of the new constitution in the current chaos would be a destabilizing factor, stated Chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

If the constitution is not adopted, the newly-elected parliament will be distracted from the search for a way out of the crisis for a long time, he said.

The forthcoming elections and subsequent work of the Federal Assembly give us the last chance to solve our problems, he said. Therefore, the Liberal-Democratic Party urges all political alliances and forces to make the elections genuinely democratic, and urges the population to take part in the referendum on the constitution, stated Zhirinovskiy.

Grants Interview

PM3011145393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Yuriy Orlik; place and date not given: "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: 'Democracy Also Envisages Violence'"—bold passages are Orlik narrative]

[Text] Readers are probably familiar with the highlights of Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy's life and political career. The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] willingly speaks and writes about himself at great length, including in a book, but more about it later.

He was born in 1946 in Almaty, in—as everyone knows—a legal expert's family. "I have a Russian name—Vladimir, my father's name was Volf, this is what was written down in his birth certificate and his passport. Mother just called him Volodya, and it would be simpler for me to style myself Vladimir Vladimirovich...."

Zhirinovskiy lived in Almaty until he was 18 years old ("This city was founded by Russian people. This is why I am entitled to always believe that I was born in Russia among Russians"). He then moved to Moscow. He graduated from the Countries of Asia and Africa Institute and the Moscow State University Juridical Faculty's Evening Studies Department. He served for two years in the Army, and then worked at the "Mir" Publishing House. He describes his childhood and adolescence as depressing—communal apartment, kerosene stove, hostel, loneliness. "Maybe, just like a painter or a composer, one needs some adversity to become creative, to get inspiration. This is what happened to me—in order to gain a better and deeper insight into the political processes in society, I had to miss out on some things in all other regards." Life was difficult, and Zhirinovskiy realized at an early stage that the country's and his own misfortunes were attributable to the fact that CPSU members were in power, in all leadership positions. He did not become a rabid anticommunist, he did not end up among the dissidents.

Therefore the success of the LDPR which Zhirinovskiy founded in 1990, and the transformation of the "legal expert's son," unknown to all but his own colleagues, into a noteworthy political figure are that much more amazing. He seemed indefatigable. One rally followed

another. He appeared at them escorted by his "falcons." He said what people wanted to hear, and his speeches were applauded. A year later, during the 1991 Russian presidential elections, Zhirinovskiy would rank third on the list. Some 6 million voters would vote for him.

[Orlik] The LDPR's minimum program promises a 100-percent enhancement of people's living standards within three-four months. This requires the fulfillment of just three conditions: 1) to cease all aid from Russia to nearby and distant foreign countries; 2) to halt conversion and engage in large-scale arms sales on the world market; and 3) to put an end to organized crime by destroying all (!) 5,000 gangs on Russia's territory.... Is it that simple to get out of the crisis? Tell me, has this program been costed in any way? Has it been subjected to a scientific feasibility study? Or is it just an ordinary propaganda bait for the starving voters?

[Zhirinovskiy] There is no bait in it at all, and we are talking not of three but of six months. This is substantial. Second, people are fed up with promises about what will happen in 20 years. People want to know how they will live tomorrow. As regards specific costing, do not forget that we are an opposition party, we do not have statistical administrations or secret institutes at our beck and call. The figures we use have been culled from the press. These are the data presented by scientists and experts: Our aid to foreign countries accounts for 30 percent of everything we have; there are 5,000 organized gangs of criminals rampaging on Russian territory; just a few years ago the exports of arms stood at \$30 billion a year. By utilizing these funds, it is possible to expect that our living standards could really be enhanced by 100 percent.

[Orlik] Your interpretation of figures cited by the press is incorrect. After all, we did not actually sell but donated arms, often obsolete arms, to countries run by certain regimes. We never actually received any sums of \$30 billion from the arms trade. These were mainly political, rather than trade deals.... Now about what you have described as aid to nearby foreign countries. It would be more correct to talk about imbalances in exchange which have developed as a result of the Union's collapse and the temporary disruption of ties. Russia could only end up the loser if it were to cease deliveries to countries which until quite recently were parts of the USSR. After all, enterprises supplying Russia would grind to a halt.

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, the Communists' mistake (and Russia's misfortune) lies in the fact that they donated things that could and should have been sold. Now we have modern weapons which are worth even more than 30 billion, but we are simply not selling them. Our Volga-Ural [Military] District had 24,000 tanks standing idle. India needed them, but we did not sell them to India—we cut them up and shipped them as scrap metal for resmelting. This is what we are talking about—the destruction of existing weapons, for which certain countries are prepared to pay in foreign currency immediately. Saddam Husayn is prepared to give us 10 billion [currency not specified] right now in repayment of the

debt owed by Iraq to our country, but none of Russia's leaders has met with him in the last two years. Not a single diplomat, not a single journalist. I am the only one. This is what Husayn told me: "I am amazed by your diplomacy. I tell them: Take it, it is your money, but they do not take it...." ...As far as nearby foreign countries are concerned.... Under the Communists we fed them, we fully maintained all the republics. Only Ukraine just about managed to look after itself. And this state of affairs continues to this day. Just stop the aid, and these countries will not last a single month. Why should we create difficulties for ourselves? Let us create difficulties for others.

[Orlik] That which you propose could only evoke hatred for and estrangement from Russia, it could lead to the emergence of new refugees in their millions.

[Zhirinovskiy] It is easy to block the flow of refugees. All it needs is to threaten the regions from where Russians are being expelled that we would take similar steps with regard to representatives of their indigenous nationality living in Russia. Take Azerbaijan for example. There were 500,000 Russians living there. Now there are 100,000 left. And how many Azerbaijanis are roaming in Russia? A million. Therefore, for starters, we must expel 400,000 Azerbaijanis from Russia and send them to Baku. And if they carry on disturbing the Russians, we will send the full million back. And the same for all other regions. We must not forget that democracy also envisages violence.

[Orlik] Everything is so simple as far as you are concerned. Economically speaking, hey presto—and we have a 100-percent enhancement of living standards. In terms of interethnic conflicts, you need only to threaten, halt deliveries, and expel—and you have order.

[Zhirinovskiy] This is a distortion. When did I say hey presto and everything will be fine?

[Orlik] In the minimum program.

[Zhirinovskiy] I said that this should be done to start with, and it would yield such and such an effect. This does not mean that everyone will acquire a strawberries and champagne lifestyle overnight. All it means is that there will be fewer starving people, fewer homeless people. Second. Can you name one other country which has been plundered and ruined as much as ours. I am not simplifying anything. Any solution would be very complex. I am simply a specialist in the matters which I tackle. I offer snap answers to questions because I do have the answers. They have been worked out, I have been pondering them for 30 years now. Why are you unwilling to mention that Zhirinovskiy graduated with distinction from Moscow University, and from more than one faculty at that, that he knows four languages, that he has traveled across half the world and all of our own country? This is where snap solutions come from.

[Orlik] But let us turn back to the outflow of Russians from former USSR republics. Is it not obvious that it has

been conditioned by objective causes? The situation in many of these countries is unstable, they are shaken by interethnic and intertribal conflicts. People are fleeing from war, from bloodshed, from a life that is disintegrating before their very eyes. Migration is caused by unsettlement, by insecurity, by fear about the future. And yet you are deliberately proposing to deport hundreds of thousands of people on the basis of Point Five [reference to fifth entry in domestic passports describing holder's nationality]. This is a return to the era of Stalinism, to the Middle Ages.

[Zhirinovskiy] Is it a sign of civilization to kick out and deport to Russia thousands of our compatriots, to leave them without homes, without work, and without the means of existence? Does this mean that Russians can be expelled from everywhere, but God forbid that we should take countermeasures? All I am talking about are countermeasures. And it would be even better to think of deterrent actions.

[Orlik] What do you have in mind?

[Zhirinovskiy] There should have been a law banning the creation and functioning of all organizations with nationalist separatist leanings whose goal was to dismember the USSR, all those people's fronts, but the point was that the KGB protected and nurtured them. Furthermore, not only did we fail to take the necessary measures but we ourselves actually gave the signal for expelling Russians. After all, it was Yeltsin who said: Never mind, let the Russians come back, we will welcome them and help them settle down.

At this point it would be apt to remind readers that, while contesting the previous presidential elections, Zhirinovskiy raised the slogan of protecting the Russians. The corridors of the LDPR headquarters in the Chistyye Prudy area are still plastered with his photographs and dreadful vows: "I will not allow anyone to insult the Russians!", "I will protect the Russians throughout the country's territory!", "I will bring Russia up from its knees!", "You all will be fine with me." Among them, however, there is a poster depicting television hypnotist Anatolliy Kashpirovskiy, who in this instance is hypnotizing the voters: "'Vote for the LDPR.' Our next questions focused on the party.

[Orlik] It seems to me that the LDPR was the first party permitted by the CPSU?

[Zhirinovskiy] It did not permit anything. The USSR Constitution was amended 16 March 1990, and Article 6 was deleted from it. Yet we had scheduled our constituent congress for 31 March way back in January 1990. We did not know that the Constitution would be amended. It was simply a coincidence that the LDPR Congress was held two weeks after Article 6 had been abolished. Then everyone decided—the press was particularly diligent in this regard—that our congress had almost been inspired by the KGB or the CPSU: Here you have Zhirinovskiy's party, here is your multiparty system. Yet we never had any links at all with either the

CPSU or the KGB. You can check this with the KGB. In contrast with the leaders of other parties, I was never a member of the CPSU.

[Orlik] The top names on the lists of most parties and blocs contesting the current elections are, as a rule, those of fairly widely known persons. Gaydar-Kovalev-Pamfilova, Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin, Shakhrai-Shokhin.... Yet Zhirinovskiy is the only familiar name on the LDPR list.

[Zhirinovskiy] I am not pressuring anyone, but a party must have a leader. So as to ensure that things get done, to avoid constant squabbles as it happened with Democratic Russia or the National Salvation Front. If, instead of 17 cochairmen, the National Salvation Front had had just one chairman—Makashov, Sterligov, or Prokhanov—things might have worked quite differently for them. There are no squabbles in our party.

[Orlik] Nonetheless, is there not a danger that a personality cult might develop within the party? Even the newspapers published by the LDPR have your name in their titles—PRAVDA ZHIRINOVSKOGO [Zhirinovskiy's Truth], SOKOL ZHIRINOVSKOGO [Zhirinovskiy's Falcon]. And even if your name does not appear in the title, your portrait is frontpaged. Do you know what this reminds me of? There used to be a journal called KOREYA SEGODNYA [Korea Today]. Everything in it, from cover to cover, was associated with the name of the Great Leader Kim Il-sung and the ideas of Chuche.

[Zhirinovskiy] No, no. This has nothing to do with party ideology. It is simply because there are some 40-50 newspapers on display at kiosks. How should readers be guided, how should their attention be drawn to the fact that this is our party's newspaper? My name is well known, in this case it serves as an identification mark.

[Orlik] What is your attitude toward the draft new Constitution as a whole, and specifically toward the separation of powers between president and parliament as proposed in it?

[Zhirinovskiy] Objectively speaking, parliamentary democracy is superior to a presidential republic. It is better when the government is subordinate to parliament, when it is formed by parliament and is accountable to it, while the president presents awards, receives ambassadors, and travels on foreign visits. But if we were to discuss this not in abstract terms but on the basis of our country's realities, today we need a presidential regime, we need a strong president. If I had my way, I would expand his power further still. Specifically to ensure that the president forms his government completely by himself, without consulting the Duma.

[Orlik] And you do not rule yourself out as potential presidential candidate?

[Zhirinovskiy] Do not try to trap me. When insisting on enhancing the president's powers, I certainly do not

think of myself in that position. It is simply a matter of Russia needing a strong power in the present conditions.

[Orlik] Will you be instructing your party to vote for the Constitution?

[Zhirinovskiy] Not only the party but also all of Russia's citizens. This is an advance. Of course, the Constitution does have shortcomings. We in the LDPR are most worried by Article 5. You cannot expect tranquility in the country for as long as the Constitution talks of ethnic republics and autonomous oblasts. We must abandon the bolshevik principle of the country's national-territorial division. Russia within its historical borders (as they were either at the turn of the century or at least within its 1977 borders) must comprise 40-50 self-governing territorial units without any ethnic overtones.

[Orlik] In your articles and speeches, you constantly keep coming back to the idea of a new state-territorial structure for Russia. Essentially, we are talking about the empire's revival. There will be no Ukrainian Republic. There will be a couple of dozen governorates directly subordinate to the center. There will be no Chechnya, no Ossetia, no Ingushetia, no Kabardia in the Northern Caucasus—just a North Caucasian Governorate with its center in Rostov and a Russian governor-general. When Azerbaijan and Georgia come crawling and begging to be incorporated in Russia, they should spend some time in quarantine. All these are your words. Explosive. The implementation of Zhirinovskiy's imperial designs means war.

[Zhirinovskiy] Not at all. All these territories—the Baltics, Bessarabia, the Caucasus—historically belong to Russia. The only difference is that I am talking about the earliest history, you are talking about the latest. There is no need to conquer anyone.... Everything is very simple. Stop supplying timber to Ukraine—and all mines in the Donbass will collapse. Stop supplying Ukraine with everything we are supplying today, and within three months it will be down on its knees and Kravchuk's government will collapse. Stop all aid, including military aid, to Tajikistan—and Rakhmonov will come running to Moscow, using any possible form of transportation, to beg: Take us into Russia, take us as the Dushanbe Governorate, I beg you....

[Orlik] We have come a full circle. Is it your opinion that the USSR's disintegration was the result of enemy intrigues?

[Zhirinovskiy] What do you think, did the USSR collapse of its own accord? This is the price our society had to pay to ensure that the Communists remained in power—but already in the guise of national democrats. All these processes in the country were provoked. It must not be said that the USSR was collapsing, that its economy was collapsing. The situation was artificially created. All this is part of the plan to destroy Russia as such.

[Orlik] Who hatched and implemented these plans?

[Zhirinovskiy] Rivals. Those who find Russia a hindrance. It would be to everyone's benefit to destroy Russia with its mighty economy, its vast armed force, and its achievements in science and space.

[Orlik] And what should Russia do in response?

[Zhirinovskiy] Look after its geopolitical interests. Read my book *Last Dash to the South* [*Posledniy Brosok na Yug*]¹—it says it all.

This is what Zhirinovskiy himself has to say about this 142-page book in his foreword: "This is an analytical narrative interspersed with biographical notes, the quintessence of my philosophical and geopolitical views of contemporary reality. This is my brainchild, this is as far as I have got in my 46 years of life."

We have already mentioned the biographical background. I am one of you, Zhirinovskiy emphasizes. But at the same time he is the man of destiny, called upon to deliver Russia whose rulers have failed it. He criticizes them all—from the last czar to the last general secretary. Nicholas—he hung on to power for too long and got tired. Ulyanov—a dropout who went abroad and hardly lived in the country. Those who succeeded him—timeservers who committed dirty deeds.... "Gorbachev and Yeltsin made all possible concessions to the West, to the United States, to the CIA, to Israel. And what did they get in exchange? Nothing.... They were deceived. Neither the Stavropol bear nor the Ural bear is a skilled trader. A different intellect is needed here.... A man thinking on a universal scale, or at least on a planetary scale, is needed here." It is obvious who this man is.

But let us turn to the book's quintessence, the author's "brainchild"—the LDPR leader's geopolitical views. According to Zhirinovskiy, Russia's task, its fate, its destiny, and its accomplishment is to gain access to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. This is the "last dash to the south," the conquest and subjugation of Kabul, Tehran, and Ankara by Russia and their subordination to it.

We reminded our visitor of these words contained in his own book: "How I dream of Russian soldiers washing their boots in the warm waters of the Indian Ocean and switching permanently to summer uniforms. Lightweight boots, lightweight breeches, shortsleeved and open-necked blouses without neckties, lightweight garrison caps. And a small, state-of-the-art Russian submachine gun produced by the Izhevsk plant. These submachine guns are much better than the Uzi. To ensure that any platoon of Russian soldiers could impose order anywhere."

[Orlik] How does this call for the conquest of new spaces differ from Hitler's? Just in the direction of the dash, it seems. Hitler had his "Drang nach Osten," yours is "Drang nach Sueden" (to the south).

[Zhirinovskiy] The redistribution of spheres of influence is continuing. The main danger for Russia now lies to the

south. All our misfortunes have come from there and will always come from there. This is an unstable region. Fragile, explosive, unruly. It holds in store for us conflicts and wars which will make Dushanbe and Sukhumi look like kids' play in comparison. This region must be pacified. The world community itself will ask us to do so.

[Orlik] But in your book you write not about the Russian soldiers' peacemaking function under the UN flag but about the Russian Army's combat task. And you define this task as follows: "Operation to establish Russia's borders in a southerly direction...."

The last argument Zhirinovskiy used to uphold "the book's ideology" in our dispute was this: It is necessary to foresee how events will develop. "You are looking at the situation in 1993, whereas I am looking ahead, to 2013 or 2027."

The timeframe has been shifted forward but the ideology, which has already thrown the world into one war, remains. There is no point reassuring ourselves by saying that history does not develop according to Zhirinovskiy's scenario.

Gaydar Threatens Opponents With Libel Actions

LD3011215493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The economic recovery plan offered by the Russia's Choice [RC] alliance reflects the interests of the society as a whole unlike the plans of its opponents, who represent different interest groups such as agrarian, military-industrial or bureaucratic lobbies, RC leader Yegor Gaydar said in Moscow on Tuesday [30 November]. It is this clash of general and private interests which will lie at the heart of what kind of choice will be made on December 12, he said.

Gaydar spoke of having serious fears about the December vote and accused pro-democracy groups of falling again hostage to their own ambitions and failing to unite because of an assumption that the main difficulties were a thing of the past. He warned that in these conditions, a fairly large number of communists and deputies of the former Russian parliament might win the vote.

The RC leader accused his opponents of unfair methods in waging the election campaign. "Instead of outlining their own platforms, they often turn their speeches into a case against Russia's Choice and its leader," Gaydar said. He said the RC was planning a series of libel suits against its opponents saying he was sure the alliance would win them.

Lukin Not Against Chernomyrdin as Premier

LD3011195593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606
GMT 30 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskiy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] A leading member of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, Russian Ambassador to the U.S. Vladimir Lukin, told Interfax on Tuesday [30 November] that he would be "morally satisfied if the government resigned after December's elections, and if the State Duma subsequently endorsed Viktor Chernomyrdin as the new prime minister." "I have nothing against Chernomyrdin serving as the head of government," Lukin said.

When asked if his bloc intends to fill key government posts, such as that of foreign minister, if it wins the upcoming elections, Lukin said that this is out of the question. He explained that under the draft constitution to be submitted for a referendum, the government is subordinate to the president and it must not resign when a new legislature is elected.

"The State Duma can only raise the issue of no confidence in the government, after which the president will dissolve either the government or the Duma," Lukin said.

According to him, "no constitution is perfect, and this goes for the American, French, and other constitutions. Election blocs have the right to raise this issue in conformity with the legislation on freedom of speech."

When asked if he intends to resign as Russia's ambassador to Washington, Lukin said: "I do not understand why this question interests everyone. Like many participants in the election campaign, I am taking my usual annual vacation."

Green Party Declares Support for Yavlinskiy Bloc

LD0112110793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025
GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuliya Kantor]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 1 TASS—The Russian "Green" Party, which is not running for parliament, said it would vote for the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc and will oppose the draft constitution at the upcoming referendum.

The "Greens" decided to support Grigoriy Yavlinskiy because his bloc listed many ecologists as candidates to the new legislature and because it also united representatives of the regional Party of the Centre with which the "Greens" maintain long-standing political contacts", spokesman of the party Yevgeniy Usov told reporters on Wednesday.

He added that the draft constitution is not good enough and "it is premature to adopt it in the current difficult conditions".

Bloc Representatives Detail Economic Policies

PM3011140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 3

["Extracts" from speeches by V. Selyunin of "Russia's Choice" and M. Zadornov of the "Yavlinskiy Bloc": "Five Percent Differences"]

[Text] Public election debates have taken place between representatives of the "Russia's Choice" and "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" blocs, which are heading the popularity ratings at the moment.

The blocs' representatives who took part in the debate dwelled on the differences between their election economic programs. We are publishing extracts from the speeches by Vasilii Selyunin ("Russia's Choice") and Mikhail Zadornov ("Yavlinskiy Bloc").

Vasilii Selyunin: The Main Thing Is To Curb Inflation

The economic parts of the election programs of the "Russia's Choice" and "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" blocs are approximately 95 percent the same. But there are some differences. Perhaps the most significant one relates to the pace of reforms. Our bloc's main effort will be to deal with inflation in the next 13 months or so, bringing it down to approximately 3 percent per month by the end of 1994. The Yavlinskiy bloc expects inflation still to be at the 15-20 percent level by the end of next year, that is, approximately the same as the current level. It is not planning to reduce it to the minimum until the end of 1995.

It is our firm belief that we will not get out of the crisis unless we have a tough enough anti-inflation policy. Of course, it would be very nice not to do it so abruptly. But who benefits from the gradual approach? State enterprises, which have failed to adapt to the market, and speculative capital. This is fertile ground for currency speculation and for abuses by officials allocating credits.

Let us imagine we are not aiming at stabilizing the ruble. What would that lead to? There was a mass of cases where multimillion ruble credits were taken out and dollars bought with them. Six months later, when the dollar rate had risen several times over, one-tenth of the dollars were sold and the credits were paid off. The dealer would keep nine-tenths of the currency. What does the Russian economy get out of it?

They say that agriculture needs credits. For instance, excessively high purchase prices were set this year for grain—80 rubles [R] per kilogram, compared with a cost price of R20. The price was twice that of the market price. What fool is going to take grain to the exchange now, if the state is guaranteeing a price that is twice as high? The result is elevators full to overflowing and an increase in the grain price. But then it is bound to rise if 300-percent profitability is included in purchase prices under pressure from the agricultural lobby!

The "Russia's Choice" bloc plainly states that 1994 will not see an improvement in the economy—the production decline will be halted, that is all. History shows that economic growth cannot begin until inflation has been beaten. If we do this next year, 1995 will see the start of healthy economic development. If not, we will suffer the same fate as Ukraine.

What specific anti-inflation measures can we offer? First, the abolition of preferential credits. Second, the liberalization of foreign economic activity. Third, land reform. This measure will bring the population's savings onto the market. Fourth, housing reform. We propose starting it in the next few months. We cannot continue with the situation where a person's apartment rental covers only a part of the cost of the upkeep of housing. People with medium-size and high incomes must pay back the bulk of it.

It has also been decided to integrate nonbudget funds in a single consolidated fund. We would no longer have the disgraceful situation where there were essentially several financial systems operating in the country. Changes will be made to the tax sphere. We will not be adopting new economic programs. The existing ones already exceed the capabilities of the budget.

What will people get from our anti-inflation policy? First and foremost we will free the population from the vilest tax, the inflation tax, which hits the poor above all. Pensions are not that small, you might think, and average pay has topped 80,000. But as soon as you get it home its value decreases. But when we get inflation down to 3 percent this will no longer be the case. And everyone will feel this immediately.

Advocates of the market often come in for abuse. But we are advocates of the state as well. Indeed, there are things in the economy that the state must be relieved of. Capital construction, for example. But we are well aware that the market cannot do everything. What market is going to establish a tax system, protect private ownership, determine military expenditure? These problems must be tackled by direct orders, by pressure, by an administrative edict system, if you like. In these key matters we intend to enhance the role of the state. If we do this we will halt the anarchy that has reigned in the country since the end of 1991.

Nikhail Zadornov: Changes Needed In Structural Policy

One of our differences is over the privatization program. We believe that the voucher privatization that is currently taking place in the country has not done anything so far. If we were to count up how much the state has received from the sale of facilities, I fear the sum would be less than the amount spent on the upkeep of the State Property Committee structure and television advertising for privatization. Yet when this process was just beginning the state could have enlisted the R400 billion lying in the population's savings accounts. But this did not happen.

We believe that an entrepreneur, group of people, or foreign investor will only be entitled to privatize a facility if he says: "I will invest, for example, 100 million in this enterprise, I will supply new equipment, and I will ensure that jobs are created."

Moreover, the state nevertheless has to run the sectors it owns. There is a number of worrying trends. The maritime fleet is a specific example. In the past two years state earnings from operating it have fallen from \$2 billion per year to less than \$500 million. It is now being used in such a way that individual groups of people benefit and not the state. In this sphere and in railroad transport and a large number of other sectors a clearcut form of relationship has to be established with the leaders of enterprises. The state must obtain profits from the property that can provide an income even in the current situation. This will make it possible to finance other programs.

In structural policy we are proposing earmarking four or five "locomotive" sectors which are capable of pulling the Russian economy out of the crisis. And money must be invested in them right now. Indeed, budget investments are needed in this case. They could be made on condition that private investors put money in them.

How do you finance this expenditure when you have an enormous budget deficit? Well, even the most cursory analysis shows that, strange as it may seem, in the past two years the overall proportion of state expenditure in our country's end product has not diminished. The conclusion is that for a whole variety of reasons this money is being used inefficiently. And we have identified some areas in which money is going down the drain. One of them is the vast size of nonbudget funds, which is practically equivalent to the size of the budget itself, and no one can give a coherent answer to the question how this money is being spent. But the appraisals conducted in some regions show that a large part of it is being used for commercial ends. There is a whole variety of ways of making sure the money goes into production, into the development of Russian industry.

We are proposing a whole range of antimonopoly policy measures which will make it possible to curb rising prices in the very near future. We are also in favor of revenue reform. Revenue from well off strata of the population geared mainly to imported goods must be redistributed in favor of the majority of the population in order to increase the demand for Russian-made goods and, ultimately, to support and develop Russian enterprises.

Economic Freedom Party Head on Elections

LD3011203293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The pro-democracy alliances fighting elections in the same constituency must now decide which of them will stay put in the fray with others opting out of the race, leader of the Party of Economic Freedom [PEF] Konstantin Borovoy told Interfax.

To begin with, he said, this applies to the Russian Democratic Reform Movement (led by Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak) and Sergey Shakhrai's Party of Russian Unity and Concord. None of them is likely to win the vote separately, Borovoy believes. But the loser failing to overcome the required 5 percent barrier will have to concede half of its vote to opposition parties, he said.

Under the election law, the vote cast for alliances failing to drum up the 5 percent support is to be shared out between their luckier rivals.

Borovoy thinks the withdrawal by either of the two alliances from electioneering will be seen as a strong political decision indicating that their leaders are well aware of the political responsibility they have to bear. You can't romp home riding the same horse, said the 45 year-old PEF leader standing in a single-seat constituency in Moscow.

Stankevich on Yeltsin's Warning on Constitution

LD3011232093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Sergey Stankevich spoke at a news conference on Tuesday [30 November], at which he expressed serious concern at the opposition to the new draft constitution being expressed, not only by the opposition but also by a whole range of parties and movements occupying centrist or even democratic positions. Here is our special correspondent Andrey Zemkov with the details.

[Zemkov] [passage omitted] In defending the new constitution, Sergey Stankevich was expressing the interests of his electoral bloc, the Party of Unity and Accord. But when he replied to questions from journalists about the possibility that leaders of parties, calling for people not to support the constitution, might be prevented from participating in the elections, Stankevich spoke in his role as presidential adviser.

[Begin Stankevich recording] No candidate who has been registered to participate in the elections, in accordance with the law, can be removed as candidate for anything during the election campaign, as long as his utterances do not contain direct violations of the law, for example, calls for violence or any other direct violations of the law. [end recording]

[Zemkov] The presidential adviser said that Boris Yeltsin's warnings to the Communists and the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] that caused such a sensation were more the opinion of a politician than of a person who has particular powers and is ready to use them.

Three Associations Presented in Election Broadcast

LD3011232593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 30 November broadcasts the

regular Russian Television pre-election slot entitled "Federal Assembly" in which the following three associations are presented: The electoral bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin, Russia's Choice, and the Movement for Democratic Reform. Irina Mishina is the studio presenter.

The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc is represented by one of its leaders, Yuriy Boldyrev, who denies the rumors that he has left the bloc. He says that one candidate is not allowed to stand for both chambers of the parliament and that he himself would be standing for the upper chamber.

Discussing his bloc's economic program, he says: We proceed from the assumption that monetarist methods as such cannot be used to put inflation down in our specific situation. They are inapplicable to our economy as a whole. Leaving alone the actual techniques of implementing these methods, the very idea of monetarist methods is not fully appropriate here, especially as regards taxation. We proceed from the assumption that inflation is already in full swing and we should not set ourselves the task of putting it down overnight. This is impossible—partly because our inflation is not just inflation, it is linked with the slump in production...we proceed from the assumption that this kind of inflation can only be tackled through boosting production, and it is only in the process of expanding and modernizing our production system that it can be overcome. This approach is radically different from the present government's. He said his bloc would try to channel money from the sphere of financial operations into the sphere of production.

He moves on to political topics: Speaking about the political basis for economic reforms, it is quite clear that only a strong state is capable of implementing reforms in the interest of the majority—reforms that would not be chaotic, explosive, or based on the use of shock methods. In our situation, when we have gone a very long way along the route of confrontation, we must not choose between two extremes, but should search for middle of the road solutions, acceptable to all strata of the population, we should search for compromise and reach agreements. This requires a totally different political environment, a totally different mechanism of political interaction in society.

Boldyrev then says that it is his bloc's priority to combat corruption and that by the strong state he means a state where executive power is under the strict control of the legislative bodies.

He makes it clear that at present the situation is totally different. He then clarifies the bloc's attitude to the new draft constitution: We are dissatisfied with the procedure for drawing up and adopting the draft and with some of its points. We propose that this draft be submitted to the newly-elected Federal Assembly in order to make some necessary adjustments, then put it up for broad public discussion, then adopt it at a referendum

and—this is particularly important—as soon as the constitution is adopted at the referendum, both branches of power should be re-elected. This is the key point. It should not happen that the same people who prepared the draft would then rule.

The next 20 minutes of the program are devoted to the electoral bloc Russia's Choice. It broadcasts a video feature, in which some prominent personalities from among the supporters of the bloc speak about the present election campaign. Chess champion Garry Kasparov says Russia's Choice has started a frank dialogue with the people; Gennadiy Burbulis stresses that Russia's Choice is behaving in a honorable and civilized manner during the election campaign. Ex-minister Petr Aven says Gaydar guarantees continuity of reform and is the kind of leader who deserves that other candidates should sacrifice their own political interests for his sake. Aleksandr Yakovlev says he is disappointed in all political forces on the arena and that a creeping counterrevolution was currently taking place. Ecologist Nikolay Vorontsov says only a multiparty system could ensure a healthy society. Entertainer Gennadiy Khazanov said people were making fun of themselves and their miserable life in the course of the election campaign. Iren Andreyeva speaks about some ethical aspects of the campaign. Human rights defender and former dissident Sergey Kovalev speak about the bloc's attitude to political compromise. Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev says that the victory of Russia's Choice would make it possible to overcome the crisis of the last 75 years. Sociologist Arkadiy Murashov expresses hope that there will be good working relations between the members of the would-be parliament, unlike the intolerant Khasbulatov's parliament.

The Russian Movement of Democratic Reform is the last to appear on the program. A pre-recorded video is shown, in which two prominent members of the bloc, pop singer Oleg Gazmanov and Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov talk about the movement. Shaposhnikov says he supports it because there is no populism in it and because people involved in it have demonstrated their abilities and grasp of reality through brilliant careers in their own walks of life. Shaposhnikov speaks about his poor childhood and successful military career in later life. He says his main concern is always to gain the understanding and trust of his subordinates. Then Gazmanov is shown singing a song about the dignity of the Russian officer. Further discussion between Shaposhnikov and Gazmanov follows. Shaposhnikov says it is a relief that the enemy-seeking approach has been removed from the Russian military doctrine. He says politicians should now be able to resolve all problems by peaceful means. He says if the state needs the Army, then it should take proper care of it and provide for its servicemen accordingly.

Other Blocs Air Views

LD0112022693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 30

November carries the "Voter's Hour" program, which features three election blocs: Russia's Choice, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reform.

The program begins with an interview with Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, leader of Russia's Choice, by an unidentified correspondent. Gaydar is asked why his party—which includes cabinet ministers, society's political and intellectual elite—does not feature more prominently in the pre-election media coverage and seems to make less effort to pull in the voters than its opponents, some of whom are trying to take advantage by making negative pronouncements regarding Russia's Choice and its leaders. He also asks why the party is being rather slow in defending its image in the face of the opposition's attacks.

Gaydar says that although the election campaign is the most important task at the moment, other pressing issues such as management of the economy. He says: "The objective and serious difference between us and our opponents is the fact that we have a lot of work to do each day and it is this work—however important the election campaign might be—is the most important for us. We believe that life cannot stop during the election campaign."

Gaydar continues: "Russia badly needs to use the momentum in order to make a breakthrough in a number of key areas of the economic policy: The new bloc of social legislation, including new legislation on pensions and family allowances, currently being prepared; reform of the foreign trade regulations system; improving the system of protection of domestic manufacturers and lowering the export tariffs; working out concrete documents for creating the grain market and demonopolization in this sphere; working out a bloc of documents in support of the president's agrarian reform; legislation for stabilizing the financial sector; preparing the basic legislation on property rights in 1994; reform of the management of the state enterprises—these are areas which we are working on at the moment and which we hope to implement before the end of this year. This, of course, is our most important task, I believe, for me and for most of my colleagues in the government who are members of the Russia's Choice election bloc."

Gaydar further says: "As for the style of polemics adopted by many of our opponents, well, the simplest thing to do is to camouflage the absence of a clear, coherent, and positive program by a torrent of lies and insults directed towards the opponents. Especially if these opponents have the ungrateful task of being responsible for what is happening. Of course, many of our rivals in the pre-election struggle know perfectly well that they are telling lies, moreover, they know perfectly well that these lies will be exposed in the court of law, if necessary. In doing this, they use a classic principle used by their fascist friends: the more lies, the more chances they are believed." He then says: "Of course, the lies will

be refuted later, in the court, they know this perfectly well. But this will happen much later. Elections are taking place on the 12th".

Asked what will be his party's immediate aims, Gaydar says that the main task will be bringing inflation down to something between three and five percent by the end of 1994. He explains what conditions are needed in order that this is made possible and what this will entail. It is time the state stops giving populist but unrealistic promises.

To the question what level of average income he thinks the Russian citizens will be enjoying if his plans for financial stabilization succeed, Gaydar says that 125-150 dollar per month equivalent can be realistically achieved.

To the question of the danger of unemployment Gaydar says that at the moment unemployment in Russia is still low in comparison with major western economies. It will continue to remain relatively low,

Asked about the plight of pensioners and the disabled, Gaydar says that pensioners suffer most from inflation. A new law on indexation of pensioners's incomes is currently being prepared. Gaydar admits that the housing problem is one of the most acute at the moment. The reform of the housing industry is being envisaged. There is a new decree on housing subsidies currently being prepared, which envisages housing grants and loans to people on housing waiting lists which would enable them to buy their own homes.

Gaydar says that the most difficult period of economic hardship is already over. There is no longer a real risk of things going much worse. Most of the population has adapted to the economic changes. It will be a great and dangerous mistake to reverse this process. Could reform be carried out at a lesser cost to the public? Gaydar says that in a real world, with the political system that existed at that time, it was inevitable that certain social costs had to be borne by the population. With the experience gained so far, the public is now wiser than some politicians give it credit for.

In conclusion, Gaydar says that he trusts the voters to show good sense and believes they will make the right choice at the elections.

The program then features the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin election bloc, which begins with a short video showing urban scenes with the voice in the background: "They do not want to buy our trust, this is why they do not appear on television that often. They believe that honesty is the best policy. And an honest choice is a choice of what is really new. They were lucky. They have found each other and made up a team of the like-minded people which used to astonish us and brought us hope. We are also lucky that they did not abandon each other and that today this team of professionals is coming to elections—not just to win, but to give us choice, the new, democratic and honest choice."

After a musical interlude, the bloc leaders and representatives Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Tatyana Yarygina, Aleksey Melnikov, Mikhail Zadornov, Yuriy Boldyrev, and Vladimir Lukin are presented in a series of brief fragments of interviews, outlining their political credo. Yavlinskiy says: "One can only do something when moving consistently towards one's goal. Let it be a small step, but a step forward." Mikhail Zadornov says: "Political work today means one has to sense what society needs and try to find solutions to the key problems."

After an intermission, Aleksey Mikhaylov talks about the reasons the "500 Days" program had failed. A voice talks about the reasons why Yavlinskiy has left the political scene after his program was rejected. Yavlinskiy talks about the program and the reasons why it was not adopted. Mikhaylov talks about the necessary conditions for the economic reforms to succeed.

Yavlinskiy talks about the "Consent to a Chance" program worked out in cooperation with the western economists and also rejected by the government. Aleksey Melnikov talks about its failure.

Events of August 1990 are evoked, and Yarygina talks about the reasons why Yavlinskiy had not been appointed to the prime minister's post after the August coup and subsequent desintegration of the Soviet Union. Aleksey Melnikov talks about Yavlinskiy's disagreement with the government on economic policy.

Melnikov talks about the success of the Nizhniy Novgorod economic experiment as a model for the wide-scale economic reform, explaining how and why it worked. Yavlinskiy says he was not out to save Russia, he was just doing his job and the reason he went to try his ideas in the province is because he was convinced that real economic reforms should begin at the grass roots.

Zadornov and Mikhaylov are talking about the bloc's political aims. Mikhaylov says: "We cannot return what people have lost, but we shall try to prevent further losses. We are for an honest state not a good state promised by Gaydar."

Yuriy Boldyrev says Russia needs strong power, not an uncontrollable power, such as is offered in the presidential draft constitution. Vladimir Lukin says that such an enormous country as Russia should be turned around slowly, gradually. Swift and radical reforms are not likely to succeed.

The Russian Movement for Democratic Reform broadcast begins with a video showing Russian Orthodox Church domes and Moscow street scenes with a patriotic song as the music background. Popular show personality Oleg Gazmanov interviews St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, the leader of the party. Sobchak says that Russia should become a family home for its people, not a communal flat. Russia should overcome its long-term backwardness and isolation of the past 75 years. Too much time was wasted on trying to find a special way for

Russia to develop. Now Russia realizes that it is best to turn to the path the rest of the world has successfully travelled.

Sobchak talks about St. Petersburg embodying the spirit of Russia. Sobchak then talks about specific features of St. Petersburg as a historic center and problems of obtaining financing for the restoration of its buildings and conservation of its historic center. He is also concerned about the lack of adequate provision for the old age pensioners. Sobchak says precise plans have already been drawn on ways to develop St. Petersburg as a cultural, financial, and tourist center and the need to change the former emphasis on defense industry, which he plans to gradually phase out and remove from the city's historic environs.

Sobchak says Russia has a huge market potential for the world trade and his party will encourage foreign investors and use foreign capital to develop Russian industry and modern infrastructure.

Sobchak says that unlike other parties, his party does not believe in making unrealistic promises. "We do not aim for the government positions", he says. He further says that the movement's backbone is made up with prominent self-made people like Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Svyatoslav Fedorov, and himself—who, having come from humble backgrounds, achieved success and recognition. "We are not aiming at getting the presidency, but we understand that the new parliament with the new constitution can achieve a lot. Russia needs new laws in order to get on the road to recovery." So much of the land Russia has is wasted because it does not belong to anybody. The land should have its owners. Russia does not need to purchase foodstuffs from abroad. "We are going to the Duma in order to create the real basis for the new legislation," Sobchak concludes.

Election Program Features Communists, Civic Union

LD0112014293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 30 November carries an election program called "Listen, Think, Choose." The first half of the program features the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Correspondent T.I. Ivanova presents A.K. Frolov, political observer of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; T.V. Politneva, a school headmistress; and R.N. Filimonov, MD.

Frolov speaks about the moral crisis in Russia. "When we ask ourselves: What is the matter, why have we ceased to show concern for each other, why is society so rapidly becoming morally split, why do people coolly watch the terrible bloodshed in the center of Moscow?"

He continues: "Naturally, we cannot blame this only on some evil chaps who have come in over the past three years and caused this split in society. This opinion does

exist and is in wide circulation but it is rather oversimplified. I believe that the fish began to rot from the head quite a long time ago. Former party ticket-holders who, by the way, are continuing to rule us even now, are seriously to blame. Further, the decline in morality was accelerated by the so-called market reforms. I say so-called because I prefer to speak of pseudo-market reforms." Reforms should encourage production, he concludes.

Politneva speaks of the problems in the education system. Filimonov spoke of the problems in public health. The party program calls for free education and health care.

The second half of the program features the Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress. A.P. Vladislavyev, who represents the bloc, says that the bloc believes that reforms are essential but the present price being paid is too high. "Today it is precisely the corps of directors, businessmen, and all those connected with production who are the main defenders of reform." He goes on to say: "The main task today is to avoid or to minimize unemployment; that is the heart and essence of our program. We must replace the economic concept of the reform; the illusory, absolutely senseless doctrine of a deficit-free budget, financial stability, and so on; and replace it with all-around support and renewal of production and fill the market with high-quality Russian-made goods. A certain amount of protectionism is needed for this, by the way." The bloc would act in parliament to seek optimal solutions of problems by means of compromise.

Vladislavyev says that the draft constitution was seriously flawed although it was better than the previous one. He explains that the bloc does not have an official stance on whether to support the draft constitution; it will be holding a meeting in the next few days to discuss this.

The Civic Union does not need to make promises to the electorate as people can see that it is composed of professionals who have earned the voters' trust.

'A Word to the Voter' Program Airs

LD0112094693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1855 GMT on 30 November carries the "A Word to the Voter" program featuring various party representatives prior to the upcoming 12 December elections.

First to feature is the "Future of Russia - New Names" party bloc. Opening the program, economist Oleg Sokolov says that the bloc's aim is to renew power throughout the country and to reflect the interests of the regions, not just to replace one Moscow elite by another Moscow elite. Physicist Vladimir Zharikhin describes a meeting of the bloc's candidates he attended last Sunday, where, he says, he realized just how good the candidates are. Sokolov, a candidate in Samara oblast, says that the

peasantry are not opposed to reform, but they want freedom. They want to own their land. They are used to being deceived by officials and so, naturally, mistrust them. At this point there is a brief advertisement for "Future of Russia - New Names."

Zharikhin then talks about his experiences at rallies and discussions in Smolensk oblast. He complains of unfair tactics in some areas, e.g., Novosibirsk oblast, where, he says, pressure was brought to bear on the bloc's candidates. He finally shows some cartoons about his bloc, saying this proves that the bloc has a sense of humor and can laugh at itself.

Advertisements for the "Democratic Party of Russia" and the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" follow. Konstantin Zatulin of the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" says he wants to talk seriously about the economy. He says that taxation is too high. Sometimes businesses are operating at a loss: He quotes the example of a chicken that costs 800 rubles [R] to raise, but has a sale price of R700. It is better to expand the number of taxpayers, i.e., make many people richer, than to raise taxes, he contends. No one will feed us if we don't do it ourselves. There is no hurry to plunge headlong into the world market. He says that Russian businessmen are not ready for this yet. The party approves of Yeltsin's recent decree to protect Russian banks. There is a need to cooperate with the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The program then carries an advertisement for "Russia's Choice," which includes a 1-minute quote of Gaydar saying that there are positive trends in the economy. The struggle will be an uphill one, but the Russian people can win. The party stands for freedom, property, and legality. This is followed by a "Civic Union" advertisement, and then one for the "Democratic Party of Russia."

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], addressing entrepreneurs, says that the LDPR supports them; their products need protection against foreign imports, which will otherwise flood the Russian market. Taxes should stimulate the production of goods. At present, they only stimulate the endless buying and selling of existing goods. There are fewer goods now, but prices are higher. He says that racketeering is on the increase, officials take bribes, and gangsters use violence. Civil servants must have better working conditions so that they do not need to take bribes. Businessmen need help to reach the outside market.

He goes on to say that there are many Russian technical and service enterprises in Germany, Poland and Hungary, left behind by the withdrawing Russian Army. Russian businessmen must take them over. Russian goods can be of good quality and can therefore be competitive. He states that the banking system is chaotic. Zhirinovskiy recalls how two years ago, owing to banking failures, he paid twice for two trucks, which were later destroyed in Sukhumi before reaching him. He

says he received nothing, which must be much the same for many Russian businessmen.

He says that foreigners and southerners have too many privileges in Russia, and it is time that Russians again became powerful industrialists. He talks about the possibility of shipping surplus weapons to India, for example, and getting back what is needed in Russia.

He goes on to say that businessmen need security and the support of the law, and that the highest rate of tax should be 40 percent, dropping eventually to 30 percent. Some activities should be exempted from tax, e.g., housing construction and food production. This would lead to a boom in these two fields, which is what is needed at the moment. He points out that a new party program is now available, and gives the address at which it can be obtained.

The party wants to see the state and private sectors able to compete fairly, he says, and will do its best to provide optimum conditions for businessmen. He says that he is opposed to businessmen who only seek to plunder Russia and take capital abroad. Russian enterprises have \$200 billion abroad. The money will return to Russia once stability is ensured. Russia will get back the money it is owed by countries such as Iraq. He says that this money can then be used to support Russian businessmen. He ends the program by saying that the LDPR will protect honest businessmen who seek to make the country rich, as well as themselves, of course. He appeals to entrepreneurs for their support on 12 December.

Russia's Choice Woos Intelligentsia

PM0112095793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 pp 1-2

[Article by V.I. Selyunin: "We Say Little, We Do a Lot. What 'Russia's Choice' Bloc Offers the Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Over the past few weeks I have set out the "Russia's Choice" bloc program at several meetings of the intelligentsia. Needless to say, academics, theater figures, journalists, and creative people in general were the first to assess the freedom of thought we have acquired and are prepared to defend it. But you cannot eat freedom, and it would be nice now to get something more material from the state.

In this sense, I would state straightaway that our program pales beside the promises made by other election associations. As a certain journalist I respect has noted, the rivals of "Russia's Choice" are promising cash handouts to all the hungry and suffering, and using every imaginable method, including the most fanciful—money is being offered on the basis of which sector the recipient belongs to (the agrarians and "Civic Union"), on the basis of territories (the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and Travkin's party), straight from the printing press (the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and the Yavlinskiy bloc), and, finally, out of thin air (Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy). Voters are so dazzled they

do not know whom to vote for. We cannot do these things, because we intend to become the ruling majority and to faithfully carry out our promises, not least to the intelligentsia and masters of culture.

No, we cannot abandon direct state support for the intelligentsia. The president's recent edicts provide very substantial benefits for culture and the arts. But this is all that can be done immediately and, perhaps, it may even be more than is necessary. The strategic direction, in our view, should be different—not only and not so much direct state appropriations to develop culture, as improving and generally boosting the economy. Culture does well in a rich country. That is seemingly a basic truth, but we have to keep to basics rather than retreating from them, even if with good intentions.

Looked at in this light, the "Russia's Choice" pledges to the intelligentsia are of considerable importance. Admittedly, by our calculations, 1994 will not be a year of economic growth—even if the authorities act correctly it will only be possible to halt the production slump. We consider the stabilization of the ruble to be our paramount concern. Russia is not the first country to find itself in an accursed crisis, but economic growth has never begun in any country until inflation has been suppressed. Nor will it here. By means of a tough and, consequently, unpopular monetary and financial policy, the "Russia's Choice" bloc plans to reduce inflation to 3 percent a month by the end of 1994.

Does this mean that any improvement in our lives will again have to be postponed—a case of heaven after we are dead? Not so. During the ruble stabilization process the population will be avoiding the most (it is hard to find words appropriate) ignoble and vile tax yet—inflation. It hits the poor hardest—particularly that section of the intelligentsia which is paid out of the budget. Their salaries melt away before their eyes, yet there are no opportunities for them to earn money on the side.

Those cultural figures capable of earning a good living themselves without the treasury's help have also fallen into the inflation trap. Journalists, for instance. I know from my own experience that writing no longer pays. Many of the mass media are on the brink of closure. Naturally, people are fighting over state subsidies. But, first, handouts will not save us, and, second, I personally do not believe in a freedom of speech that is paid for out of government coffers. If our bosses pay us, will we then show our gratitude by calling them a regime of occupation? That is not the way things happen, you know. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Does the fourth estate really want to be the handmaiden of the authorities once again?

Yet the economic background to this phenomenon is very straightforward—subscriptions to newspapers and magazines are taken out in the fall. But the publishers produce the goods through the middle of the following year, when the money raised from subscriptions has become worthless—not enough even for a sheet of paper.

Only by curbing inflation can we solve this problem. As you can see, by stabilizing the ruble, the "Russia's Choice" bloc is allowing journalists to live, create, and feed their families without betraying their consciences. The same is true of other categories of masters of culture.

Academics—who are our voters too—are not enjoying the best of times. The state is financing by no means all scientific institutes, but they continue to survive half-starving. Of the 350 scientific institutes under the Russian Academy of Sciences not a single one has been closed down—they are impoverished but still have hopes in the authorities. Official money is spent on preserving scientific cadres for the future, but returns on investment today seem to be about 10th on the list of priorities. Obviously, this kind of squandering of funds will not help science.

We propose moving away from the financing of institutions toward the financing of useful programs. Adapting to the country's potential, it will be necessary to restrict the list of programs to strategically important avenues of basic science and to research in applied science that is of practical value.

And, please, there should be no declamations about the incalculable future advantage from your research. Spare us your favorite argument about how useful your latest brainchild may be. We have no spare cash, and there are no two ways about it.

Given this approach, any science center has to prove yet again that it deserves budget financing. And that is not easy. Let me take an area I know something about—the economy. If any academic institutes are receiving money it is institutes in this area. Yet I do not recall any meaningful recommendations from them throughout the years of perestroika and market reform: Famous academicians justified communism with a human face, then invented a special kind of socialist market, and are now issuing banal recipes for a socially oriented economy—as if there were any opposition to that. Practising economists simply ignore these theories as being completely useless. I realize that these outbursts of mine will not win any more votes for the "Russia's Choice" bloc, but the truth has to be told—ultimately it pays to tell the truth. And the truth is that in the sphere of social sciences it would be wasteful for the state to maintain all the schools and disciplines that we have inherited from the communist past.

In the sphere of the exact sciences probably the hardest hit—through no fault of their own—have been scientists working for the military-industrial complex. The "Russia's Choice" bloc believes that it is possible to guarantee the country's security and defense capability through economic development rather than through the redistribution of limited financial resources directly to defense. Incidentally, after the large-scale cuts in military spending and state orders for weapons, defense spending in the next few years will remain stable.

We propose keeping this spending in 1994 at the current level, focusing funds in those areas which determine military-technical potential. It is not hard to figure how important this plank is for the careers of scientists employed in the military-industrial complex.

But undoubtedly the main area in this sector is conversion, which will again need brains. A recent conference of nuclear scientists near Yekaterinburg, to which I was invited, examined very promising projects for the transition to civilian production. If the nuclear scientists are doing this, then God demands that others follow suit. Chatting to the "thunder makers" over a cup of tea, I got the feeling that they sympathize with our electoral bloc. We can reach an understanding.

Most of the Russian intelligentsia, who have suffered most from the inevitable difficulties of the transitional period, have faithfully and reliably supported the reformers through thick and thin. I am confident that creative people will stand firm this time too, because "Russia's Choice" is indeed Russia's choice. Without the quotation marks.

Moves To Prevent Communist Win

LD0112113593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1102
GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuliya Kantor]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 1 TASS—The Russia's choice electoral bloc has called on democratic candidates from other groups to join efforts and prevent a Communist victory at the upcoming elections.

It proposed to the regional branches of all pro-reform blocs to withdraw their candidates from the race in one-seat constituencies in favour of the candidate from another democratic group who has the best chance to be elected.

The Russia's Choice believes that otherwise the dispersed forces of democracy will turn powerless before hard-line opposition.

"In the first-past-the-post electoral districts the dispersion of democratically minded electorate will most inevitably lead to the victory of communo-fascists and the reactionary forces", Nikolay Arzhannikov, a Russia's Choice member and an initiator of the proposal, told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday.

The appeal was addressed to the regions after the Russia's Choice failed to reach an agreement on such consolidation of forces with the central leadership of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc.

Voting for Communists Viewed

PM0112105193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by political observer Lev Korneshov: "Democrats of All Blocs, Unite!"]

[Text] The closer the elections come, the clearer the polarization of forces in society. Obviously, few people want the elections to fail or want voters to be indifferent to them. That would be a victory for those under the red banner—look, they could say, Russians are boycotting the elections. The overwhelming majority want the elections to produce a result and the Federal Assembly to work.

But the elections are coming, and on 12 December we will each be handed four papers at the polling places, go into the curtained booths, and be alone with our civic conscience. There will not be much time to consult that conscience—just a few minutes, although we should not rush. And the way we vote will determine the immediate (and quite probably long-term) future of our country. That is why I think that we must decide where we stand today, in the remaining days, rather than when faced with the ballot paper.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has already published full lists of the Federation Council and State Duma candidates. Specialists have calculated the percentage representation on the lists of representatives of the administration, ministers, civil servants, entrepreneurs, members of the corps of directors, writers, artists, lawyers, and journalists....

But I have done my own calculations, and they put me on my guard. I have arrived at the unexpected conclusion that the lists of those seeking a vote of nationwide confidence contain very few names that are known to all of Russia. Russia does not know who at least 80 percent of these people are or what they stand for. Belonging to an electoral association reveals a little, as does nomination in certain electoral districts. Here the only hope is that they will be known to people in the areas where they have been nominated, and that voters will be honest in their "selection."

On the other hand, the very thick list of names well known from past political battles is surprising. Yes, we have people in our Russia who are irreplaceable, heat- and frost-resistant.... In human terms their desire to once again stand on their beloved parliamentary rostrums is understandable, but will they be able to say anything new if they have already used up their entire vocabulary without result? In order that no one should accuse me of making "anonymous" complaints, I will just name Mikhail Bocharov, Oleg Bogomolov, Nikolay Petrakov, and the ever-young Sergey Stankevich.... And then there are the "blasts from the past"—Sergey Burlatskiy has arrived from the United States, and Viktor Mironenko, who had previously been CPSU Central Committee deputy administrator of affairs and, prior to that, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, has

popped up. Even Artem Tarasov, the prophet of who knows what fatherland—his own or a foreign one—has flown in.

People ask what complaint I can have about these "blasts from the past." I reply that they all had an opportunity to influence the state of affairs in Russia but did not do so. What guarantee is there that they will be able to do so in the future? And I would add that gearing ourselves to the heroes of the past is a dangerous practice.

But enough of this. It is far more interesting to study the list of candidates. This reveals that they are general directors, directors, chairmen of the boards of commercial banks, chairman of the boards of joint-stock companies, leaders of small enterprises or private farms, and so on. Russia's new business people, as I call them, are widely and meaningfully represented in the lists. Even in terms of their numbers they are second (more than 22 percent) only to administrators at various levels. To this should be added the impressive representation of the corps of directors (more than 8 percent). Is that a good thing or not? It depends on how you look at it. I found a familiar name on the list—that of Rafis Kadyrov, chairman of the board of the "Vostok" international joint-stock commercial bank. When he was just starting his career as a financier, he told me: "I am a money-making machine." In the space of a few years Mr. Kadyrov's bank has attained a world-class level. He is not only talented in what he does, but he is able to do a great deal of excellent work. But when I see alongside his name the names of the vice president of "Vostok" and the leader of one of its major subsidiaries, I start to wonder whether this is a bit too monotonous for the voters of Bashkortostan. And is not the classic progress from money to power a bit too direct in this instance?

Here is another observation. Against the names of a goodly number of candidates from the Communist Party of the Russian Federation it states "temporarily unemployed." Do they really not have any work? I think that this is a simple-hearted ploy—people in Russia have always felt sorry for the aggrieved and the persecuted, and may perhaps vote for them.

Well, I have read through all the lists. I hope that those who are elected will indeed comprise a new parliament for a new Russia. Ultimately, it is not about percentages! We have already had to put up with those during the period of stagnation, when every rayon was told to nominate a front-ranking machine operator...woman doctor...young teacher...carpenter...academician.... Everything was stated then—job, age, sex, social background, party membership. And the Supreme Soviets were like Michurin hybrids—they had everything but edible fruit.

So if it is not about percentages, what is it all about? It is about who those percentages represent.

Official Corrections to Candidate Lists Issued

PM3011160793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Corrections"]

[Text] We hereby announce the official corrections to the published all-Federation lists of candidate deputies for the State Duma (see ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA for 12 November 1993) from electoral associations.

From the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" electoral association the following has been nominated as a candidate deputy to the State Duma on the basis of the decision of the electoral association of 21 October 1993:

Republic of Bashkortostan

29. Sharipov, Yuriy Kamalovich, born 1940, general director of the "BETO" Joint Stock Company; Ufa.

From the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" electoral association, the following have been nominated as candidate deputies for the State Duma on the basis of the decisions by the PRUA Federal Council of 26 October 1993 and 6 November 1993:

Stavropol Kray

159. (1.) Gavrilov, Rambom Imanunlovich, born 1945, president of the "GRiS" [expansion unknown] Concern, member of the Enterprise Council under the Russian Federation president; Pyatigorsk;

18. (2.) Shevatsukov, Pshimaf Askarbiyevich, born 1948, deputy chairman of the Republic of Adygea Government; Moscow.

Economic Issues**Central Bank Instructed To Remit Part of Profits**

LD2711191593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] INTERFAX learned today that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin recently signed a resolution on use of the Russian Federation Central Bank's profits.

According to the document, the Central Bank has been ordered to remit 300 billion rubles from its 1993 profits to the republican budget to meet urgent state requirements for additional resources.

Chernomyrdin, Government Members Discuss Budget

LD3011215193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin held a working meeting with a number of government members on the Isle of Valday today. The meeting

focused on the government's performance so far this year and the budget for the last quarter of the current financial year, First Vice Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets told journalists after he returned to Moscow.

Besides Soskovets, the meeting was also attended by First Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov and Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko.

Soskovets said the meeting also discussed budget proposals for the next year and that part of the government industrial restructuring program devoted to boosting investments and industrial production. The meeting agreed on the need to continue the course for financial stabilization pursued by the government.

The meeting's participants considered the formation of the defense order for the next year and granting credits to the fuel and energy complex. In particular, the meeting approved the Defense Ministry's proposals regarding the state defense order for 1994.

The meeting assigned special importance to Russia's relations with other CIS states, as an increase in the Russian industries' output depended on their cooperation with enterprises in other CIS countries, Soskovets said.

In an answer to an Interfax question, Soskovets supposed the credit to CIS countries earlier estimated at 800 billion rubles would be cut down. Half of the funds saved will be used to reimburse the debt to Russian enterprises.

Soskovets said Chernomyrdin was constantly negotiating variants of reimbursing CIS states' debts to Russia with their leaders referring to Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich's visit to Valday last Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Fedorov, Soskovets Cited on Fourth Quarter Budget

PM0112123593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by A. Yevgenev and A. Golyayev under the rubric "Budget '93": "Major Surgery"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers Presidium has in the main approved the draft budget for the fourth quarter of 1993.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov, minister of finance, characterized this document as extremely rigorous. The budget deficit is planned not to exceed 5.5 trillion rubles [R], and for the year as a whole, R11-12 trillion, which, allowing for foreign credits, will constitute precisely 10 percent of gross domestic product. In this way, one of the IMF's most important conditions for Russia's receiving the second tranche of the systematized credit of \$1.5 billion will be fulfilled.

In order to achieve these indicators, we have to significantly reduce expenditure, the vice premier said. Most

expenditure items will be cut. Only those connected with pay will, evidently, remain unchanged. It is planned to suspend until 1 July 1994 the execution of approximately 25-30 decrees and decisions for which there are simply no funds at the present time. Expenditure on so-called unprotected items will be reduced by 20 percent. All these are very painful measures, Fedorov admitted. No one will be happy with them, or with the budget as a whole. The following figures speak of the scale of the "surgery" carried out by the Cabinet in the process of drawing up the budget for the fourth quarter: If expenditure were not reduced, the budget deficit would shoot up to R18-28 trillion by the end of the year.

Nevertheless, the government's radical wing, at least, is still convinced that the arrangements for achieving super-savings is justified—only in this way, in their opinion, can a platform for a further assault on inflation be created. It is apparent from the Council of Ministers' statement on economic policy that it is already planned to lower the level of inflation to 15 percent at the end of 1993 and January 1994, and to reduce it to 3-5 percent by December of next year.

Speaking of 1994 budget planning, Fedorov noted that it will be based on new principles of distributing tax revenue between the center and the federation components. Virtually all income tax will go into regional revenue. And tax on profits will be distributed as follows: 15 percent into the federal budget, and up to 30 percent into the local budget. The VAT rate will be standardized. In addition, Federation components are to be granted the opportunity to establish at their discretion any other taxes, funds from the collection of which will go into the local treasury. In Fedorov's opinion, the regions have never had such economic rights throughout Russia's existence.

Replying to the question on the expected 7 percent increase in VAT (4 percent to go to the countryside, and 3 percent to go to coal workers), the vice premier stated that nothing of the sort is planned for this year, but it cannot be ruled out that such a decision could be adopted in future, and specifically, as early as in the framework of the '94 budget.

However, the difficult situation which has developed in a number of sectors will evidently force amendments to be made to the "in the main approved" draft budget. At a press conference last Friday First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets clarified some of the provisions of the draft budget for the fourth quarter.

"Government consultations with those who form the budget and the search for ways to increase the revenue part have had definite results," Oleg Soskovets said. "But nevertheless, one of the main revenue items—the tax on profits—which forms a significant part of revenue will not have its desired impact because of the fall in production and defaulting.

"We are carrying out difficult work to provide credits to the basic sectors. But unfortunately, the sums allocated

do not reach consumers in time. For example, the power industry has still not received R250 billion and was unable to square accounts with its enterprises.

"A mass of excuses is being adduced—interest rates are high, the commercial banks are unenterprising, and so forth. We have a situation where the stifling departmental approach is retaining its priority—if the pressure gets too great, they say, there is the Ministry of Finance, it will do everything. But the Ministry of Finance in turn believes that its job is just to allocate money. In other words, a 'living' financial link is not being organized. This, in my view, seriously hampers price formation and increases mutual debts. And financial organs and departments should work together on this question."

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Money owed to the defense sector and to miners is nevertheless being returned. How much will the budget deficit increase in this way?

[Soskovets] We do not set ourselves the task of the previous parliament, but we approached the assessment of the income and expenditure parts of the budget fairly rigidly. Everything that affects the reduction of expenses has been fulfilled. In the instance of which you speak the deficit will increase by R1.5 trillion or R2 trillion at the most.

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Use of Privatization Vouchers

LD3011130593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1225 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on settlements using privatization vouchers during the privatization process. The decree stipulates the implementation of several measures to regulate settlements using these vouchers and the guaranteeing of the rights of participants in special voucher auctions. This same decree endorses a provision on the issuing and use of certificates of the depositing of privatization vouchers.

Chubays Comments on Progress of Privatization

LD3011165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The basis for Russia's new national economy has been built by the end of 1993 and the structure of property has been radically changed, according to Anatoliy Chubays, vice premier of the Russian Federal Government responsible for privatisation.

Chubays said in a conversation with editors of local periodicals here today that the small-scale privatisation is 85 percent completed, and the large-scale privatisation drive is proceeding as scheduled—forty percent of the total work force are already employed by joint stock

companies, and out of 14 thousand enterprises due to be sold off, nine thousand have already been privatized.

"The character of economic behavior of our enterprises has changed dramatically," Chubays said. "In the past, the manager pressured his suppliers to get what he needed, now financial problems are his main concern. And where financial resources have become the main concern of enterprises, the managers turn to those who have them, the consumers. This sets the entire chain of the new economy going", Chubays said.

Chubays noted that money has begun "to work" in the country and the ironical adage about "the wooden ruble" are no longer used as widely as they used to be.

The vice-premier admitted that inflation remains one of the major negative factors in the economic and financial fields. Another negative factor is that enterprise managers keep importuning for state credits.

Chubays said that work was completed on Tuesday on a new programme of privatisation which will soon be submitted to the president and the government. The programme provides for no radical changes in the privatisation tactics but experience suggested many changes to the legislation procedure and required papers—all this will be reflected in the new programme.

Gerashchenko Discusses Situation in Energy Industry

LD2811224693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Interview with Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko by an unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Well, will the miners be paid for the coal that they have already supplied, or will they have to continue economizing on every little bit?

[Gerashchenko] You know, I would say that the miners ought to receive the money that it is the state's duty to pay them. The same as workers in the agro-industrial sphere who have delivered grain to the state for which they have not received payment from the latter. The same applies to the workers of the military-industrial complex who have manufactured products on state orders and have not been paid for them. The Finance Ministry itself is suffering as a result of these nonpayments, through not receiving taxes on the produced goods because they have not been paid for. The result is a vicious circle. In this case I believe we are playing very dangerous games.

[Correspondent] Have you given them this money?

[Gerashchenko] You know, according to the existing law on the Central Bank and on the structure of the budget we should, naturally, grant the government such credit as has been approved in the budget by the Supreme Soviet.

Or, in its absence at present, this is the right and the prerogative of the president. But if we cannot make ends meet then, in my opinion, one should say frankly and honestly that ends do not meet and the budget deficiency should be increased, and then borrow money from the Central Bank and pay off one's debts.

[Correspondent] Is the Presidium aware of the state of affairs?

[Gerashchenko] I hope that the president is aware of the problems that the country's economy is facing, and I hope that the prime minister is presenting the proper reports and putting corresponding proposals to the president.

[Correspondent] Where is the wall, so to speak, which one has to jump over so that this should be settled?

[Gerashchenko] If the respective decisions are not adopted at a level of high authority then we face a blind alley and I would even say financial failure. I think that traditionally, in our country, often nobody wants to be the bearer of bad news. It is an awkward situation and it causes embarrassment. Often some kind of decision has to be made on the basis of bad news and the responsibility shouldered.

[Correspondent] What about coal oil and winter? This is the heating of houses. What if these branches of industry come to a halt? Is there or is there not such a probability?

[Gerashchenko] Unfortunately, this is more than probable. And again, in this case we cannot get by without injecting additional money into the economy. If we miss the moment we will then actually start freezing from February onward.

[Correspondent] So you mean that we have two months left? At most?

[Gerashchenko] Yes, if the weather, over which, unfortunately, we have no control, pray as we might, does not present some surprises.

Cabinet Aide Notes 'Improved' Economic Picture

PM0112104793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Khrustov: "Over Year Inflation Pace Has Declined Sixfold"]

[Text] Today, with slightly over two weeks left until the elections, political scientists are vigorously analyzing the socioeconomic situation in the country and the government's activity in this field. Vigorously, but not always objectively. What is the actual situation? Has the government managed to reduce inflation, to curtail the production slump, and block other adverse trends in the development of our economy? At your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent's request Andrey Illarionov, leader of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers chairman's analysis and planning group, describes this.

If you compare the present economic situation with the situation which existed a year ago, and even more two years ago, then of course it has improved incomparably. It is perfectly clear that we have moved away from the crisis which existed in November-December 1991 and threatened the country with catastrophe. Let us recall what it was like then: A complete shortage of absolutely everything, nightmarish lines waiting in the attempt, often unsuccessful, to buy the most essential items. In brief, the specter of hunger really faced all society and, of course, the government. The country's currency reserve were completely exhausted. The Bank for Foreign Economic Activity had announced its insolvency.

In January 1992 there were moments when the government had at its immediate disposal only a few tens of millions of dollars and there was a real threat that grain imports to the country might end—there was no money to pay for transport and insurance for this grain. Today the situation has changed. The Central Bank's currency reserves are \$5 billion and the government's reserves \$2 billion.

Apart from everything else at that time the economy was completely uncontrollable because neither enterprises nor local organs of power responded to any edicts or directives from the central federal authorities. That was the situation in the late fall and winter of late 1991 and early 1992.

Today we can look at what has changed over these past two years. First of all let us take the state of the consumer market. It is perfectly obvious that the degree of its saturation is not comparable with what it was two years ago. Now it really is possible to buy virtually anything. Both in Moscow and in the provinces. Two years ago even in Moscow it was difficult to buy many goods and foods. Today in many provincial cities the choice is even wider than in Moscow—and, what is more, at lower prices.

Back last winter it was frequently asked: Will there be famine? This winter the subject is not even being raised. Moreover, this year we have substantially reduced imports of food—grain, meat, and many other products. And next year, as has already been announced, we are prepared to renounce imported grain completely. It turns out that Russia is quite able to manage by using its own efforts here.

Another example. Everyone remembers well what a fuss there was over how the dollar currency exchange rate was incredibly high and did not reflect the true state of affairs.

What has happened in the past six months? The exchange rate has stabilized and that is an obvious achievement of the government's. From June through November the rate has remained virtually unchanged—about 1,200 rubles a dollar, while 12-18 months ago it was constantly dropping. The situation here too, as we can see, has changed radically. Moreover, fears of a new kind have appeared: With this exchange rate, exporters say, it is not to our advantage to sell goods abroad. A

"protest campaign" has begun among the producers of our processing industry because there has been a drastic increase in the influx of imports from abroad and they present real competition. One of the most graphic examples in this respect is our westernmost region—Kaliningrad Oblast. Because it is separated from Russia's main territory and is open to Europe saturation with imports there is very high and the overall prices index is lower than in many of the country's cities.

It is interesting that whereas 18-24 months ago the Central Bank was obliged to carry out currency interventions to maintain the ruble exchange rate this summer, on the contrary, it carried out ruble interventions to stop the dollar exchange rate falling too much.

Turning now to prices, we can see how the situation has changed for Russian exporters. Prices in nonferrous and ferrous metallurgy have increased most of all over the past two years. By early fall prices for aluminum, copper, and nickel, for instance, had reached world prices and even exceeded them. The problem is that output cannot be sold for these prices on the world market.

What we have awaited for so long, what we have done so much for, has begun—the reduction of prices. Over the course of two months a number of nonferrous metals producers have been reducing their prices. For instance, exchange prices for aluminum have declined 20 percent. This trend is very important.

An important indicator of a state's "health" is inflation. We entered January (the start of the work of the present government cabinet) with an inflation rate of 12 percent a week, that is 50 percent a month. This is in excess of what is technically the hyperinflation level—50 percent a month. We already had one foot in hyperinflation—not a pleasant prospect, obviously. But the situation did not get out of control and we completed January with an inflation rate of 30 percent.

Today much has changed. The second week of November had an inflation rate of 2.3 percent. But now it is 2 percent a week and then it was 2 percent a day. Inflation rates have declined almost sixfold over the year.

Of course, the week we are speaking of was a favorable one. Inflation remains quite high and that perturbs everyone. But the scale of inflation is completely different. And if its rate is preserved in November we will reach 15-16 percent a month. If the political situation remains stable December could be even better.

There has also been an increase in the population's real consumption and real incomes. In 1993 they are already about 10 percent ahead of the consumer prices index.

There is an increase in the consumption of consumer durables—television sets, refrigerators, and so forth. Compared with January 1993 it has increased 50-100 percent. There is a real consumer boom for some types of goods.

When we began the reforms the average wages of a Russian were \$7 a month. Today they are \$75. In other words by changing wages into dollars (at the market rate) we can buy 10 times more. That is not a lot, but it is quite good if you take into account the level with which we began two years ago. If the policy the government is now pursuing is continued, it is feasible to reach January 1994 with \$100 and a year later \$200 a month.

That is hard but feasible. That is why the government's present course should be retained and in some respects should be strengthened still further. Only consistency in the implementation of reforms gives the possibility of consolidating our success.

Labor Collectives at Nuclear Centers Demand Funding

LD3011175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1624 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS free-lance correspondent Nina Volkova]

[Text] Arzamas November 30 TASS—Labor collectives of the Russian federal nuclear centers of Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70 demanded today a government resolution on emergency measures to ensure their scientific, production and economic activities.

They demand

- a legislative status of organizations with estimated-budget financing and separate line in the federal budget,
- timely financing of the centers with due account of the inflation and full payment of the debt before the status approval,
- the introduction of a wages and salaries system in accordance with the single tariff system and their thrice increase,
- financing of the nuclear centers' social sphere."

The labor collectives have repeatedly appealed to the authorities for timely financing. Last summer they were on the verge of a strike. Still, no radical decisions have been taken, "the devastation of production and social spheres goes on, the living standards have dropped and skilled personnel is quitting the job.

"The social tension has reached a critical level, which may lead to a social outburst. This will inevitably result in degrading of the Russian nuclear-arms complex and lowering of labor safety," says the appeal.

Decree on Support for Agro-Industrial Sector Signed

PM3011164593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Konovalov: "The State Will Pay Its Debts to the Peasants, But It Will No Longer Provide Preferential Credits"]

[Text] Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a decree "On measures to give state support to the agro-industrial complex in 1993-1994." To all appearances, this document was dictated not only by the economic situation, but by the election situation as well.

At first glance, the decree is very much like many other decisions on injections of finance into the agro-industrial complex, which have produced small returns, but have had a very bad effect on the budget. One can understand the appearance of this document at this time, given that the rural voter is going to be a considerable force at the elections and he has made his complaints and dissatisfaction known. That is why the Agrarian Party feels so sure of itself, having distilled all agriculture's parochial interests in its program.

But on closer examination, this election act by the government can scarcely be described as a departure from its financial policy. Above all it is about the payment before the end of the year of money owed by the state for products supplied by farmers. Yegor Gaydar said this debt occurred as a result of unrealistic promises. But they were not just promises, they were contracts, under which the countryside supplied grain, but it did not get any money. This must be paid, irrespective of the financial policy.

Moreover, the plan is to extend until 21 December 1994 the deadline for paying back 1993 centralized credits for those agricultural producers who were hit by drought or other natural calamities. But the thing is that this extension will no longer be preferential. A farmer who, for example, took out credit at 40 percent this year, gets an extension, but at the normal 210 percent.

The decree also contains a strategic section—on retaining subsidies for pedigree stock farms and farms producing superior seed and on subsidizing the purchase of modern equipment and straight-flow production lines. If these areas are not supported now, it will be difficult to revive them later.

Military Issues

Air Defense Forces Hit by Funding, Staffing Problems

PM3011155193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Report by Yu. Belov and V. Kuzmin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A new branch of the Armed Forces, the Air and Space Defense Forces, is being created in accordance with the Russian President's Edict on Air Defense Units. A joint briefing of representatives of the Defense Ministry and the Air Defense Main Directorate has been held on precisely that area of the military reform. A recent inspection of the state of the Air Defense Forces in the Moscow Military District, responsible for protecting the air space of 24 oblasts in Russia, confirmed the high professionalism of the missile forces and fighter aviation. But there are problems which are undermining the combat readiness of the new branch of the Armed Forces: First and foremost, funding delays and undermanning.

[V. Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces] We are indeed keeping the situation in space under surveillance. We are monitoring security questions from the viewpoint of preventing a missile attack and, in the event of such an attack, our system of ABM defense is on combat alert.

Deputy Minister on Air Defense in Central Region

LD0112011593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 30 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] At the request of our correspondent, Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, Russian deputy defense minister, examines the state of the air defense of Russia's central region under the conditions of the military reform and also the results of the recent exercises of the Moscow Air Defense District.

[Kondratyev] If one takes the entire air defense system which has taken decades to create on the territory of the Soviet Union and to date has collapsed, of course it is necessary to say that to a certain extent this has affected the air defense troops today. But in the course of the year, within the context of the reforms which are being carried through by the Defense Ministry, a very great deal has been done by the defense minister personally, the general staff, commander in chief of the Air Defense Troops, Col. Gen. Prutnikov, so that the system, which came about on Russia's territory within the overall system of the former Soviet Union, did not collapse. I have to report to you that this system of air defense troops exists, is combat-ready, controllable, and ready to fulfill any task it may have to tackle.

The increased attention to this branch of the Armed Forces is connected with the fact that today aerospace is becoming one of the major spheres of armed struggle. Aerospace attack forces are capable of deploying quickly and inflicting surprise massive strikes. Their operations can be expected after a relatively brief period of threat and virtually from any air sector.

For the fifth year in a row, the district's fighter aircraft have been firing with 1-0 efficiency [effektivnostyu odin-nol]. This is a very high indicator—this is an indicator of the professional proficiency of the flight personnel. In the course of three years the district's air force has not had flight accidents through the fault of the personnel. This year alone 76 pilots had their grade improved. Results could have been even higher in the district if the district were completely manned with conscript or contract personnel. This is our common misfortune and for this reason the redistribution of duties and burdens to date rests with the officers. But, nevertheless, the officers have proved to be highly trained and professional.

Undoubtedly, are problems in the district. We cannot claim that everything is brilliant and good. Untimely financing is becoming chronic. This results in delays in handing out pay to officers and warrant officers. It creates difficulties in replacing obsolete models of armaments in good time and because of increased arrears to suppliers. The tension in providing for the families of servicemen is not abating: to date there are over 2,000 officers and warrant officers without apartments in the district. For the city of Moscow alone 115 men have not been provided with housing.

Deputy Navy Commander Discusses Fleets' Situations

PM3011172193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Admiral I.V. Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, by Vladimir Maryukha under "Interlocutor of the Day" rubric; place and date not given: "What the Russian Navy Is To Be Like"]

[Text] Admiral Igor Vladimirovich Kasatonov was appointed first deputy commander in chief of the Navy in September 1992, but he was acting commander of the Black Sea Fleet almost through the end of January.

After graduating from the P.S. Nakhimov Black Sea Higher Naval School, he began his naval biography in the posts of battery commander, executive officer, and commander of the large ASW ship Provornyy and later of the large ASW ship Ochakov. He commanded a division of ASW ships and a flotilla of heterogeneous forces in the Northern Fleet and was first deputy commander of the Northern Fleet.

He graduated externally from the Naval Academy and the Military Academy of the General Staff and from Sevastopol Instrument-Making Institute while still a lieutenant captain.

[Maryukha] Igor Vladimirovich, your present post is no more tranquil than your former one. In the space of less than a year you have visited practically all the fleets and seen the dynamics to which they are exposed. But this

year has not been the best of years not only for the Navy. So how do you see these dynamics—as dynamics of decline or development?

[Kasatonov] It would be wrong to say that all the fleets I have visited have lived through this year in an identical way and appear identical when the results are summed up. The Northern Fleet, for example, has been, remains, and will be our No. 1 fleet. It is a fleet which even now has a very strong material base which ensures support for the maritime strategic nuclear system. I would not like to say in the old way "the motherland's missile shield" or "weapons of retribution," but one way or another the Northern Fleet ensures by means of its ballistic missiles both the security of Russia's borders and the country's proper authority. It is an indispensable component of the foreign policy of our state, which firmly adheres to the principles of equal international relations with all states. In respecting the sovereignty of all countries, even the smallest ones, be it Estonia, Switzerland, or Monaco, Russia has the right to reckon on appropriate respect for itself as a great power.

It is not least because of the understanding of this fact that there is, in my view, most order in the Northern Fleet. Despite the specific Arctic conditions, it engages in combat training at the former level. The fleet command and the Navy Main Staff have been able to concentrate efforts on the chief thing and to achieve the maximum results. This applies to the preparation of submarines and also of the surface ships which are part of the system for ensuring the deployment of these submarines. As a result, the fleet has carried out a number of long ocean voyages and participated in many international actions, such as, for example, the celebrations for the anniversary of the Arctic convoys. Northern Fleet ships have visited the United States, Britain, and France, and on their own land the fleet's sailors participated in the festivities pegged to the 300th anniversary of the Russian Navy.

Of course, there have also been difficulties—financial ones, above all—and complex problems have been resolved in the course of scrapping written-off nuclear-powered ships and disposing of the assets so released [realizatsiya vysvobozhdayushchegosya imushchestva]. But, despite everything, the fleet is combat ready. And the ultimate degree of its readiness was determined by the final evaluation under the leadership of the Navy's commander in chief—"Good."

You know the assessment which I made of the Pacific Fleet, and you yourself saw during our joint tour that the people who serve there are capable of resolving the set tasks. Although many shortcomings inherent in the Northern Fleet also exist in the Pacific Fleet. In addition, there are also a number of serious omissions there, above all in the safekeeping of material resources. But the fleet's military council is working in harmony, and these omissions are quite capable of being eliminated.

[Maryukha] But these are fleets which are reached only by the echo of the political upheavals being experienced in the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian....

[Kasatonov] As for the Baltic Fleet, the impressions are very positive according to the final evaluation conducted by the chief of the Navy Main Staff. A systematic withdrawal of forces is taking place. The fact that a rupture of the strategic area and a rupture of operational cooperation has come about in the Baltic is another matter, and this creates special conditions governing the employment of the Baltic Fleet. These forms and means are now being studied. For example, I personally have already participated in exercises to rehearse some of them.

[Maryukha] Igor Vladimirovich, as far as I know, after your departure from Sevastopol the Ukrainian side denied you the right to return to the Black Sea Fleet....

[Kasatonov] The situation in the Black Sea Fleet always was special and complex and was never simplified. Nevertheless, conditions there have changed. They have changed because of the Massandra decisions, because Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin firmly said what must be and how, and because the corresponding protocol was signed. Finally, the people have changed—Morozov, Kozhin. They have departed, as had to happen dialectically, since everything could not go on like this ad infinitum. The new people are more restrained, for they understand what is being done to an economy which cannot maintain a Ukrainian fleet.

It is now unequivocally clear that, if people in the Black Sea Fleet displayed weakness in the past, they long ago ceased to be professionals and seamen. But opposition to the sensible process of normalization of relations still persists, albeit in other forms. This includes procrastination and the wrecking of the talks process with proposals for a return to some system of joint command. It would be possible to speak of this if there were a different correlation between the ruble and the coupon, which is worth three or five kopeks. Russia is making every effort to prevent the seamen's impoverishment, but it is encountering opposition from the Ukrainian side's financial and banking system.

Nevertheless, the Black Sea Fleet has participated actively in operations in the eastern part of the Black Sea, which has long been troubled. On the one hand, seamen have emerged with honor from all these clashes, while on the other they have gotten good practice at sea. The fleet's seamen are also gaining experience of cooperation with local administrations in Krasnodar Kray, to where part of the Black Sea Fleet forces are being withdrawn.

As regards the fact that I have been "barred" from the Black Sea Fleet, such a precedent really did occur. The Ukrainian side, in the person of military figures who have now left the political arena, declared the "undesirability" of my presence in Sevastopol. At the time we did not fuel tension in our relations. But the situation has

changed, and if I need to visit the Black Sea Fleet in the performance of my duty, I will do so.

[Maryukha] Assessments which civilian "specialists" make of the Russian Navy "miss out," as a rule, the Caspian Flotilla, which has suffered no fewer, if not more, misfortunes than the Black Sea Fleet because of today's geopolitical confrontations. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA was sounding the alarm long before the flotilla's withdrawal from Baku. How do things stand in the Caspian today?

[Kasatonov] Facilities are continuing to be provided for the Caspian Flotilla at a new place. But a reappraisal of the international legal norms operating in the Caspian is needed—primarily those relating to the use of the geographically advantageous territories of the former union republics in the interests of a unified defense area. On the whole, both the Caspian Flotilla and all the other fleets are successfully, in my view, withstanding the onslaught of all the negative processes occurring in the country.

[Maryukha] Igor Vladimirovich, today it has become fashionable to attribute all shortcomings to a lack of funds. Nevertheless, even with inadequate funding the Navy has survived and is coping with the tasks it has been set. This does not mean, however, that all is fine in the Navy. What do seamen lack today that prevents them tackling in full measure their own exclusive professional responsibilities?

[Kasatonov] Navy finances today are something secondary, a derivative of what is really essential. What is needed, above all, is a state program for the Navy's conversion, a program for fulfilling the state's social obligations to seamen. What is needed is a program to develop a balanced navy, a program in which the curve of the number and quality of ships does not turn steeply downward but is gently sloping and even goes slightly upward. The appropriate juridical status is needed in the Baltic, in the Caspian, and in the Black Sea. Naturally, it is necessary to create the appropriate social base for a new category of personnel such as contract servicemen. In addition, it is necessary to create a system of personnel training and instruction, of training naval forces under new conditions, when preference has to be given to on-base training. A unified system is needed for "sealing" the breaches which occur in our airspace and our territorial outer space [vozdushnoye, kosmicheskoye prostranstvo]. When it comes right down to it, not only the Navy but all of us need the firm confidence in the future which I associate with the adoption of the new Constitution and with systematic lawmaking activity in Russia.

[Maryukha] Only a few years ago, it seems to me, this list would have been confined to the question of enhancing the prestige of shipboard service, the authority of personnel in service afloat....

[Kasatonov] Under conditions whereby wages are not always paid on time we can take care of personnel in service afloat by paying them in advance of shore units

and giving them priority in sanatorium and resort provision. But this, as you understand, is clearly not enough to preserve both the personnel in service afloat and the Navy as a whole.

[Maryukha] Igor Vladimirovich, in order to resolve these and other problems have you ever had the desire to pass through all the stages of lawmaking activity yourself? In other words, to secure the legislators' understanding of the significance of the Navy for Russia. It would seem that reasonable prospects for this are opening up in connection with the upcoming elections....

[Kasatonov] It was suggested that I nominate my candidacy for election to the State Duma. But the thing is that professional lawmakers must be elected to it. It is optional for a military person himself to be a member of the newly elected parliament. On the instructions of the minister of defense it is possible to participate in the work of this parliament's commissions and to address professional parliamentarians, who will, I believe, have sufficient experience and knowledge to investigate the questions raised more quickly than was the case with the cumbersome and large Russian parliament of recent years.

In this respect I pin great hopes on the new parliament. As for myself personally, I am not a politician but a professional military person. Therefore I have every reason to believe that I have nothing to do there, whereas I will be able to be of far greater benefit in my proper place.

[Maryukha] I hope my last question does not strike you as immodest, but I cannot fail to ask it. Quite a few officials among servicemen have not withstood the temptation of presidential power. As far as I know, you too were offered the presidency of the Crimean Republic. Your authority inside and outside Crimea could well have ensured your lead in the presidential race. Nevertheless, you refused. What guided you in making that decision?

[Kasatonov] First, in order to speak seriously of such a high post it is necessary to have an economic program and the conditions for realizing it. For how many of our politicians have never fulfilled their election pledges. A group of like-minded people is needed who would understand and support all initiatives. In addition, I cannot promise people what they have a right to expect from me—an increase in living standards or some autonomy from something or other. I cannot deceive people. Therefore I said honestly that I was prepared to support anyone who is capable of achieving this—but not to make promises. But the complexity of the tasks facing the Navy is no less important, and I feel my vocation to be precisely to resolve them—which I am doing to the best of my ability.

Regional Affairs**Deputy Prime Minister Shakhray Visits Yekaterinburg****Says Selling Arms Better Than Gas, Oil***LD2911112193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 93*

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, deputy head of the Russian Government, believes that the arms trade is far more advantageous and promising for Russia than trading in gas or oil. At a meeting on Monday in Yekaterinburg with the workforce of an association that manufactures self-propelled artillery pieces, Shakhray called for the expansion of the rights of enterprises in exporting arms. In his view, instead of issuing a license for every export deal, the government should simply publish a list of arms banned for sale and a list of countries to which delivery is prohibited. Let enterprises decide the rest, Sergey Shakhray said.

Urges Blocs To Support Strong Candidates*LD2911171493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 29 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Yekaterinburg November 29 TASS—Russian Vice-prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has called on democratic blocs to withdraw some of their candidates "in favour of strong ones capable of conducting a dialogue and making compromises."

Speaking at a new conference in Yekaterinburg, Urals region, on Monday, Shakhray, who is also leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, said this would "increase their weight in the parliament."

He said his party will not join any election bloc, including Russia's Choice and confirmed that he will continue campaigning in regions because "in Moscow candidates face big problems with receiving television airtime."

Shakhray, in Barnaul, Opposes Troop Withdrawals*LD3011123493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russia must not withdraw its troops from former Soviet republics, First Deputy Prime Minister Shakhray has said during his electoral campaign in Barnaul. He stated that military bases are the best means to protect the Russian population and are also a factor for political stability in former USSR republics.

Shumeyko at Kaliningrad Fleet Housing Ceremony*PM2911151993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1*

[Report by Captain Second Rank Valeriy Gromak: "Baltic Fleet-Selma' Project in Action"]

[Excerpts] Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice premier of the Russian Government, has taken part in a ceremony to mark the official commissioning of the first two buildings built by Lithuania for servicemen in the Baltic Fleet. [passage omitted]

The implementation of the "Baltic Fleet-Selma" project obviously has special significance for these people, and for all Baltic Fleet seamen who have no apartments. However, Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice premier of the Russian Government, believes that it also has great political significance.

"Everyone is interested in these buildings," he said. "Those who have just moved in, and the Kaliningrad Oblast administration... The Russian Government is also interested in this, as are the countries surrounding the oblast. The presence of our troops here, on an inalienable part of Russian territory, is an extremely important issue. And these troops should be fully provided for in terms of facilities."

Vladimir Shumeyko handed a symbolic key to the new military installation to Fleet Commander Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, emphasizing at the same time the admiral's personal merits in the implementation of the "Baltic Fleet-Selma" project. Adm. Vladimir Yegorov described the cooperation with the Lithuanian side as an example of genuinely good neighborly relations between two independent states. It would be a good thing to establish the same kind of relations with other Baltic countries. "Selma" is prepared to extend cooperation with the Baltic Fleet further.

Shumeyko Confident Murmansk Will Adopt Constitution*LD3011205693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1813 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasilij Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk November 30 TASS—Russia's First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko visited Murmansk today to discuss the draft new constitution of the Russian Federation with participants in a regional conference.

Shumeyko, who heads the government commission on the December 12 nation-wide referendum expressed confidence that the voters in European Russia's northernmost territory would approve the draft new fundamental law from which the country will be taking guidance in the near future.

Participants in the conference represented two component republics of the Russian Federation (Komi and Karelia), three northern regions (Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and Vologda) and one national area (nenets) asked questions about some articles of the new constitution which lacked clarity in their opinion. Shumeyko responded to the questions and told journalists present at the conference that the remaining two weeks before the referendum were enough for Russian people to take a close look at the draft. He called for a fuller use of all possibilities, including local radio, television and newspapers for the purpose.

This is the first time a constitution is submitted to a national vote, Shumeyko said. The draft is not flawless, but on the whole it meets the vital interests of the people. This is why it would be wrong to reject it completely and boycott the referendum in response to calls from the leaders of some political parties and movements.

Shumeyko said their calls prompted his appeal to the Central Electoral Commission for a ban on the participation in the elections of the Russian Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Russia whose leaders rudely attacked the draft.

Responding to a question from a participant in the conference, Shumeyko said it was right to adopt a decision on the constitution by one quarter of all eligible voters as stipulated by the rules for the referendum. The most active part of the population makes up just one quarter of the total number of adults in the country, he said. This does not run counter to international law, he said.

Also today, Shumeyko flew back to Moscow.

Shumeyko Denies Moscow-Moscow Region Merger Plan

LD3011114093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0952 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Russian First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko denied a report published in the newspaper "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" here today that a draft presidential decree was drawn up to merge Moscow and Moscow region administratively and territorially. "There is no such draft in existence," the vice-premier said during a hook-up telephone conference he had today with chairmen of district election commissions and heads of local administrations.

"Neither the president nor the government have proposed to merge Moscow and Moscow region into a single subject of the Russian Federation, that is into a Moscow territorial federal district with a single system of representative and executive government."

Shumeyko noted that this newspaper report "was intended to sow panic among the population". He stressed that "there will be no merging of Moscow and Moscow region".

New Two-Tier Administration for Moscow Oblast

MK3011135593 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY
KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" column: "New Mode of Administration in Moscow Oblast"]

[Text] It has become known to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS that Anatoliy Tyazhlov, Moscow Oblast governor, has signed a directive on state government and local self-government in Moscow Oblast. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS was advised at the press service of the head of the oblast administration that, proceeding from the president's corresponding transitional period (not more than two years) edicts, two types of government shall be established in Moscow Oblast: a state administration and local administration. The state administration shall be in force in rayons and towns subordinated to the oblast and exercised by the heads of administrations and elected representative organs: assemblies and dumas. Administration heads shall be appointed by the Moscow Oblast governor.

The local administration shall be in force within the limits of village soviets; settlements; towns of rayon subordination of various forms, depending on the charters of the rayon; and towns of the oblast subordination.

Sobchak Wants Lenin's Body Buried in St. Petersburg

LD3011095993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0907 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] Chelyabinsk November 30 TASS—Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak urged to bury the mummified body of Vladimir Lenin next January in St. Petersburg so that the burial commemorates the 70th anniversary of the death of the founder of the Soviet Union who died on January 21, 1924 at the age of 53.

Sobchak, the leader of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms election bloc who is currently canvassing in Chelyabinsk in the Urals, said on Tuesday that the "leader of the world proletariat" whose body now lies in a mausoleum in Red Square in Moscow, should be buried at the Volkov cemetery in St. Petersburg where his mother's grave is.

Sobchak: Draft Constitution 'Not Fit' for Country*LD3011112593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Fomicheva and Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Excerpt] Chelyabinsk November 30 TASS—"The adoption of the new constitution is a current task of priority importance," said St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak at a meeting with managers of enterprises of southern Urals, businessmen, leaders of public movements and candidates to parliament.

"After making over 300 amendments to the constitution in effect today we have received a document not fit either for a country or a single person to live on," Sobchak said.

The first problem faced by the constitution is to return all branches of power to the realm of law. "Earlier, there were distortions in favour of the legislative power, whereas today, the situation is quite different with the executive power acting independently. It is extremely dangerous if this happens at the level of an entire country and if the powers are not balanced," Sobchak said.

Commenting on merits of the Russian draft constitution put to a nationwide referendum, Sobchak pointed out that it envisages equality of subjects of the federation, a ban to secede from it and the fact that in accordance with the draft, no party and no ideology can be recognised as ruling. "Such a principle has never existed in Russia," Sobchak pointed out.

After speaking for almost an hour and fifteen minutes Sobchak admitted that it had been a long time since he made such a long speech in public. However, his speech was not a mere call to support the programme of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms led by Sobchak himself. He dwelt on a difficult situation in Russia suggesting possible ways of overcoming the crisis. Speaking about the forthcoming elections, Sobchak said that "Russia primarily needs statesmen now and it does not matter much under which flag they are campaigning." [passage omitted]

Sobchak on Need for New Constitution*LD3011163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg November 30 TASS—"The country cannot go ahead without adopting a new Constitution on December 12," said St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

He pointed out that regrettably, "the struggle around the Constitution has acquired a character of chronic illness." Sobchak believes that those seeking to overrule the Constitution are pursuing selfish aims. The mayor

believes that the country cannot live on the old Constitution which the former parliament had distorted by making over 300 amendments.

"The time has come to hold oneself strictly responsible for laws which will govern Russia's future existence. If the Constitution is not adopted on December 12, the Federal Assembly will have no legal basis," Sobchak reminded of the fact that in the process of the preparation of a new draft Constitution over 10,000 proposals had been looked into and practically every word in every article was discussed not once but even a hundreds times.

The St. Petersburg mayor declared that one might wish an ideal Constitution but the realities should not be ignored. "The Constitution should reflect the level of the development and legal consciousness which we have at present," Sobchak said.

He dwelt on the most painful problem in the world - the problem of capital punishment. He supported the idea that life granted to man by the Almighty can be taken away by him but at the same time he believes that it is necessary to take into account the criminal situation in the country. In his opinion, capital punishment cannot be rejected so that no more lawlessness can be created.

In his opinion, the draft Constitution has a number of compromise clauses which might be criticised. "I can criticise many clauses of the Constitution myself but the point is that the draft law has been endorsed by the majority of the Constitutional Assembly. It is the result of continuous work and is being adopted for a transitional period. The parliament may continue to improve the Constitution without being allowed to re-cut the Constitution on its own free will, like our former parliament did," he said.

"In future, we might introduce new provisions in the Constitution, taking into account the changing Russian realities."

Sobchak expressed confidence that the Russian people would adopt the Constitution on December 12. "If this does not happen, we shall have to call a constituent assembly since there is no other way out. This will demand tremendous expenditures," he said.

"Democracy is a costly thing but we should not bring the matter to an absurd end, when the democracy "swallows" all free money in the country, we'd better spend the money on old-age and low-income people," he added.

Sobchak Urges Rejection of 'Total Privatization'*LD3011215993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 30 Nov 93*

[Text] Mayor of St. Petersburg and leader of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] Anatoliy Sobchak said that "we should reject total privatization, which is as harmful as total collectivization was."

Speaking at a news conference in Chelyabinsk, a stop-over in his electoral campaign tour of the Urals and Siberia, he emphasized that every factory or business should be privatized in its own way.

"Russia will stay poor and dejected as long as money is collected all over the country and handed over to Moscow to be partly distributed among its territories," Sobchak said.

The RMDR leader was critical of attempts to set up a Ural Republic. In his view, this policy could drag the country "back to the pre-Peter the Great Russia divided into rival principalities."

At a meeting with artists and scientists he emphasized that "investments in man are most profitable." He said it was necessary to preserve the country's educational, scientific and cultural potential. "Russia has made a contribution so great to the world civilization that it will remain a great power for all times," Sobchak emphasized.

He left Chelyabinsk for Omsk at the end of the day.

Tatar President on Economy, Election Prospects

MK2611114093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Radik Batyrshin under the "Russian Federation" rubric: "Tatarstan President Confident That Elections Will Not Alter Moscow-Kazan Relations. Mintimer Shaymiyev Doubts That December Will Introduce Changes in the Composition of Russian Government"]

[Text] President Mintimer Shaymiyev stated in a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA interview that his biggest worry at the moment is not the elections but the wave of nonpayments which, he thinks, threatens the economy of not just Tatarstan but of all Russia. According to him, a number of enterprises in the republic are threatening to grind to a halt. Tatarstan's oil workers alone have run up a debt of more than 200 billion rubles. Shaymiyev thinks that Russia's government has no other way out but to settle for a partial mutual cancellation of debts. The Tatarstan president thinks that the Russian Government has no alternative. Mintimer Shaymiyev stated that he is impressed with similar proposals from sober-minded politicians of electoral blocs.

In his opinion, one reason for the payments collapse is that, engrossed in the electoral race, the Russian authorities have forgotten about the business at hand. "Today only Viktor Chernomyrdin and Oleg Soskovets busy themselves with practical economics, whereas all the other members of the government are carrying out party missions," the Tatarstan president thinks. "I agree with Viktor Chernomyrdin that someone has to do the job, but an overwhelming majority of members of Russia's government are preoccupied with politics," M. Shaymiyev stated. He doubts that the elections will work

radical changes in the composition of the Russian Government. "Boris Yeltsin has clearly stated that the government will change only under a new president," the Tatarstan president noted. He did not rule out the fact that this statement had been made in order to reassure Viktor Chernomyrdin. In his opinion, one cannot speak today about equal chances of the electoral blocs when nearly half of Russia's Choice consists of members of the government and officials of the president's staff. Mintimer Shaymiyev confirmed his view of the elections for the Federation Council. In his opinion, the Federation Council in the transitional period should be formed only on the basis of appointment [dolzhnostnoy priznak]. He still did not rule out the possibility of changing his mind after the holding of the postponed elections for the Federation Council in two districts in Tatarstan. UNCLAS 3B/PMU/RUSS 811 866

Tatar President on Tatarstan's Progress

LD2711112693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0655 GMT on 27 November broadcasts a 40-minute program entitled Forum, produced by the Rezonans studio in cooperation with Kazan Television, and is devoted to the coming elections to Tatarstan's State Duma. The program shows clips of people speaking from the floor at a public meeting which took place in November 1993. They express a variety of views on the economic reforms and the degree of independence which the republic should have.

The clips of the meeting are interspersed with three excerpts from an interview with M.Sh. Shaymiyev, president of the Republic of Tatarstan, who is shown seated in an office.

On the topic of democracy, Shaymiyev begins by saying:

"The impression has been created that, unfortunately, none of us have been able to cope with democracy in its early stage. We choose the simplest decisions instead of making use of the opportunities for renewing, primarily, the Russian Federation on a democratic basis. We have once again been sliding back toward creating a unitary state. Evidently, we are so infected with imperialist ways of thinking and the inertia of the way of thinking left over from the earlier system that, in the end we are unfortunately once again creating something similar to what we had before."

Shaymiyev goes on to talk about the supposed collapse of Russia and economic autonomy. He says:

"Those who talk about the collapse of Russia are people who are engaging in political intrigues, people who have no other arguments left. This applies primarily to the leaders, the heads of particular movements and parties. They all talk about this. They engaged in political intrigues: they said the situation would lead to the collapse, and that the republics, the oblasts, and the krais supported the integrity of Russia, and these people

were the guarantors of this integrity. We have all seen this already and been convinced of this.

Therefore, speaking about economic autonomy—I spoke of this earlier and continue to assert it. All right, some people are uncomfortable with Tatarstan's position. Look at our results, they are plain to see. We have our own approach to implementing the economic reforms. But as can be seen from the latest actions of the Russian Government, they are repeating this same path that we have already traversed, only they are doing it rather later. They are now disclaiming their actions; they say there will be no second shock treatment, that there must be a certain amount of state regulation of production, of major industries and enterprises, and so on. They have already begun speaking about circulating promissory notes. We have already done this. But in the end, no matter what their attitude is to our stance and the way we carry out the economic reforms, we are not going to allow the impoverishment of our people."

In the third excerpt, Shaymiyev talks about the Tatar peoples' mood. He says:

"The times are difficult but you must have sensed the people's mood here. I can affirm once again that Tatarstan is working creatively and has been working creatively throughout these years, no matter how difficult it has been.

In conclusion, Shaymiyev is asked by an unidentified correspondent: "At one time it was being said that elections would not take place in Tatarstan. Now it looks as if the elections will take place. So, will the elections be held or will there be some changes, or are you going to have further discussions?"

Shaymiyev replies: "No, there not going to be any changes. We are living under our new constitution. We celebrated its first anniversary a few days ago. Our citizens have citizenship of the Russian Federation and have the right to take part in these elections, and absolutely all conditions have been created here for this. When the Russian referendum took place—and prior to that, and now, too—all the conditions were and are in place for our population to express its will. It is up to the people to choose."

Tatar President on Sovereignty, Ties With Russia

LD2811230393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev by unidentified correspondent in the Kazan Kremlin; date not given; from the "Voskresenye" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Now a kind of political question that reflects worries of the Russian people. What is the essence of the idea of Tatarstan sovereignty?

[Shaymiyev] We have always stated that Tatarstan is not in favor of undermining the foundations of the Russian Federation. If we wish to renovate the Russian Federation using a democratic method, we should give more freedom to its regions, especially when the regions themselves ask for this freedom and want to free the center from this excessive supervision, for example. I have always said, and repeat now, that the center should deal with strategic issues, and we delegate such powers to the center. These issues include defense capability, fundamental scientific research, and common communications. As for other issues, they should be dealt with in the localities. We cannot possibly carry on like we have always done for the past 70 years when we did everything on instructions from the center. Who needs this? I believe the time will come when the center will insist on the regions taking on some of its responsibilities and dealing with regional issues.

[Correspondent] You have told me you met President Yeltsin. Does he share your position?

[Shaymiyev] Our dialogue began a long time ago. We understand each other. However, I still believe that many leaders of federal bodies are unable to shake off their imperial mentality.

[Correspondent] Mintimer Sharipovich, I am also an imperialist in my own way, but in a good sense of the word. I do not belong to imperialists who used to suppress ethnic minorities, I am one of those who were proud to belong to the same empire that also included Tatarstan. Speaking from the point of view of an ordinary individual, Russians regret the fact that they used to be together with Tatarstan, which is now leaving them. It took us centuries...

[Shaymiyev, interrupting] The point is that it is not leaving. It is very strange to hear this. Ask any Moscow politician, they all think that Tatarstan is leaving. If Tatarstan has its own position...[pauses] I will tell you that Tatarstan's position will help to build a more democratic Russian Federation. I am sure of this, absolutely sure of this. Where can we go? We are not going anywhere. Tatarstan assumes responsibility and ensures that its people have decent life. Let all regions do the same.

[Correspondent] How strong are the economic and integrational ties between Tatarstan and Moscow? What if some kind of conflict, disagreement, or rupture, name it as you like, occurs between them? Will it be an economic tragedy both for Tatarstan and Russia?

[Shaymiyev] I believe our ties should be strengthened further. These ties are very strong and interwoven. Those who underestimate this are poor politicians. Tatarstan has an enormous industrial potential. We had all kinds of ties in the past, including horizontal ties. We are trying to stick to our commitments so that we do not have the situation when we, for example, fail to supply some produce because we have received no supplies. As a result of all this, Tatarstan's economy, the economic situation in Tatarstan is somewhat better, so to speak.

[video shows stables preparing for winter races, the president's favorite horse will take part in the racing, street scenes, the presidential office in the Kazan Kremlin]

Tatar Supreme Soviet Leader on Federal Structure
LD2511183293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259
GMT 25 Nov 93

[Interview with Zeelya Valeyeva, first deputy chairwoman of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given; from "Exclusive" feature—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] As it is known, leaders of Tatarstan hold particular opinions concerning the issue of Russia's federative structure. Interfax-Exclusive has on numerous occasions spoken with them.

Zeelya Valeyeva, first deputy chairwoman of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet, spoke with Interfax on her concept of the state structure of the Russian Federation.

IF [Interfax]: What do you think of the fact that the idea of sovereign republics is absent from the published draft of Russia's new constitution? Is this merely a question of wording?

VALEYEVA: I don't think this is simply a matter of terminology. When those working on the draft of the Federation's Basic Law claim their changes are based on their worries about Russia's integrity, and associate sovereignty with leaving the Federation, it is obvious that they're talking about making all Federation subjects equal, and possibly even changing their designations to those of provinces.

I believe that this policy is aimed at restricting, prohibiting, and ignoring earlier accomplishments with the republics. It seems that the same text of the Federal agreement has come out. It is clear that there is a tendency towards a revival of a completely different state structure—and it is not one which was discussed by the republics and regions, and it is not one which has a place for federalism. I have the impression that a somewhat artificially tense situation is being created which could make the republics act in haste, and which the Center would then willingly exploit.

IF: Not all republics are in a hurry to reform the bodies of power. What consequences do you think this could have?

VALEYEVA: It's possible that the Center could use this in order to impose its own conditions on the republics and regions, as this is the only chance to bring the situation back under control. The question is how this will be done. On the other side, it is the republics which are more inclined towards reform within the framework of the law and constitutionality, but this demands time and a legal basis. Each former autonomous republic went

through the stages necessary for statehood, and none of them wants everything to be for naught.

IF: How do you explain the desire to appoint in the republic a Russian Federation presidential representative?

VALEYEVA: You should note that, in appointing his representatives, the president specifically had in mind those republics which clearly seemed to favor the institution of the presidency—Udmurtia, Bashkortostan, Karelia, Chuvashia, and others. Moscow's actions are aimed at preempting elections of executive heads of power, and to build a tough hierarchy, well-controlled and managed by the president. The republics are constantly emphasizing their adherence to the Federal agreement, but it is being withdrawn from the draft of the constitution.

Moscow politicians are always getting upset over the question of some of the Federation's subjects leaving, although none of them, not even Tatarstan, which is in a special situation, has ever talked about it. Meanwhile, in the face of a danger that is, indeed, illusory, Moscow is taking very concrete steps to restrict the independence of the regions and republics.

IF: Why do you think this is being done?

VALEYEVA: I can assume that the purpose is to justify their inadequate measures. In order to carry through a constitution with fundamentals that are far from being those of a federation, a scary separatism—intentions to leave the Federation—must somehow be substantiated. This reminds me of a big game with the wrong cards. In a country that has grown tired of upheavals, this obscures the real picture even more and leads to wrong decisions. All of us have witnessed the union's disintegration and its effects, and this bitter experience necessitates special behavior and a special position for the Russian republics.

IF: Do you believe a blockade of the republics is possible under conditions of an inadequate central policy?

VALEYEVA: Objectively speaking, it is not in their interest to be blockaded. They prefer a Center which offers a constructive policy to keep the republics together in the federation voluntarily, without violence. The old means of pressure are being applied, even though the leadership seems to have quite a few young people, unspoiled by the totalitarian regime, wishing to speak up and be listened to. Nonetheless, they are unable to offer anything new. It must be lucrative for the republics to be in the federation.

IF: Tatarstan will profit by the high degree of freedom it defines for itself. Will the other regions, subsidized by the Center, agree with that?

VALEYEVA: I think it is for each republic and region to determine the most lucrative terms of integration in the federation. Kazan has always favored more powers for all federation members. It's another question who today

can really afford the same degree of independence as Tatarstan can. Handouts are not a principle of economic relations.

I believe that subsidies in the federation should be fixed with the Center, making it possible for each region to attain a certain level. If one republic earns for another republic all the time, there is hardly any sense for it to advance its economy. Stronger regions should have incentive for even greater progress, and the weaker regions will be forced to catch up. If the budget is redistributed mechanically, some areas will remain a perpetual raw material appendage, others—an eternal parasite, and still others—a constant worker, receiving nothing for its labor.

The regions regarded as strong in Russia are those with oil or other natural resources, in contrast with the West, where some states are considered rich, even though their natural resources are scarce. The criteria for potential are simply displaced in this country. I am sure that many regions are able to develop high technologies.

Tatarstan Parliament To Examine Service in Army

MK2611104093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by Vladislav Dorofeyev and Sergey Fedotov: "Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Session Resumes. Tatarstan Raises the Question of Service in the Russian Military"]

[Text] Tatarstan continues the process of consolidating its statehood. The Tatarstan Supreme Soviet session, interrupted in late October, resumed work in Kazan on 24 November. The deputies are discussing questions of reforming the republic's representative and executive branches and of Tatar conscripts serving in the Russian military.

The Tatarstan parliament's session was interrupted a month ago over a conflict between President Mintimer Shaymiyev and the deputies. The president insisted, and still does, on creating a bicameral parliament—a People's Assembly—whereas parliament speaks for a unicameral representative organ.

Shaymiyev proposes that 63 deputies be elected to parliament from administrative-territorial entities, and the same number from electoral districts with equal numbers of voters, and 24 deputies from parties. Shaymiyev's plan provides for the right of a president to disband parliament and appoint heads of the law and order structures and government members.

The Supreme Soviet speaks for a unicameral parliament of 75 deputies-professionals (50 to be elected from one-candidate districts, and 25 from party lists) with limiting presidential powers in respect to the legislators.

In the opinion of the deputy Ildus Sultanov, the president's plan is conducive to nominating as main candidates for a

new parliament people close to Shaymiyev, in which event Tatarstan will have no parliamentary opposition.

The current session of the republic's Supreme Soviet can be described as a political celebration [sabantuy]—a celebration of Tatar statehood. Some other facts, too, attest to its consolidation. In particular, elections for the Federation Council have been sabotaged in Tatarstan. As for the president, he no longer relies exclusively on the mythical "will of the people" for consolidating his power, but also on his own party—the Party of Unity and Progress. The two clashing bills on a new parliament should be seen as another testimony of Tatarstan's consolidating its own statehood.

Finally, the present session of the Supreme Soviet will look at the problem of Tatar citizens serving in the Russian army. Incidentally, they took precisely the same course of action in the Baltics in the past: The very first thing, the republics' parliaments took up the question of their citizens serving in the army of another state—the USSR.

Officer Notes Difficulties With Draft in Tatarstan

PM3011110793 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Captain Vladimir Volkov, assistant to the Kazan garrison military commandant, by Senior Lieutenant Artur Gulko under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric; place and date not given: "How Fugitives 'Occupied' Kazan. The Sovereignty Bandwagon Is Not Only Wreaking Havoc Upon the State's Political and Economic System, It Is Hitting the Army Hard Too"—first paragraph is KRSNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Army structures that work alongside local organs of power are having a difficult time at the moment. Captain Vladimir Volkov, assistant to the Kazan garrison military commander, told me about this in an interview.

[Gulko] Vladimir Nikolayevich, it is not easy for officers to serve in military commandant's offices anywhere, but it is especially difficult in the capital of sovereign Tatarstan....

[Volkov] Yes, there are plenty of headaches here.... Fugitives from military units, for example. Kazan is full of them. In one year alone approximately 3,000 servicemen have passed through our commandant's office after going AWOL from their military units for various reasons. It must be stressed that the overwhelming majority of them turned up in the commandant's office voluntarily—they know that we will try to help them if we can and that we will look into their problems.

[Gulko] So roll up, soldiers, there is a warm welcome for you at the Kazan commandant's office?

[Volkov] Of course not. On the contrary, we are trying to combat the incidence of soldiers going AWOL from their units—this is our main task. The simple fact is that we

will look into every specific case as thoroughly as possible. And an analysis of the reasons why servicemen drafted from Tatarstan have gone AWOL from their units will enable us to reach a subsequent conclusion.

We have become hostages to sovereignization. What is to happen, for example, if under a decree by the Tatarstan cabinet of ministers the draft is to be implemented on the basis of the Federation Treaty, which has still not been signed? Especially as in accordance with Russian legislation, only a Russian citizen may serve in the Armed Forces, and many local draftees are citizens of Tatarstan who have renounced Russian citizenship. In the spring draft alone there were 709 of these people. How are we to deal with them—catch them and put them on trial for avoiding service? But we have no legal basis for detaining them. It is an absurd situation.... But if a serviceman from Tajikistan renounces Russian citizenship and abandons his unit, then under the existing legislation he is not committing a crime. This is being exploited by organizations such as "Azatlyk" and the All-Tatar Public Center, which are encouraging youths to desert the Army and promising them protection.

[Gulko] Basically, what kind of relationship do you have with social organizations?

[Volkov] We have a very good relationship with the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers. The mothers have seen that we are not enemies to their children. As far as the All-Tatar Public Center and "Azatlyk" are concerned, these organizations have picketed the commandant's office building on more than one occasion. Both the commandant and officers at the commandant's office have approached them more than once and invited them in—let's compare our positions and find a compromise. But except for insults and threats directed at us, we have heard nothing.

Tatarstan Dissatisfied With Draft Constitution

PM3011161993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Boris Bronshteyn report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Tatarstan Still Insists on Its Special Status"]

[Text] Kazan—A Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet session has expressed its disagreement with the draft Russian Constitution.

The adopted decree notes that it is expedient to enshrine in Russia's draft Fundamental Law Tatarstan's status as a sovereign state and a subject of international law associated with the Russian Federation on the basis of a treaty on the reciprocal delegation of powers.

Tatarstan TV Allows Antielection Statements

LD3011094493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Several polling stations in Kazan and other settlements in Tatarstan have not been properly set up. They do not have signs bearing the flag of the Russian Federation.

Tatartsan's state television and radio company is widely providing air time for statements aimed at disrupting the elections in the republic. This is noted in a statement from the republic's Equality and Legality electoral bloc which was given to a RIA correspondent.

Poll Assesses Voting Intentions in Tatarstan

LD2711193393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] The elections to the State Duma planned for December 12 may not take place in most of Tatar major cities except the republic's capital - Kazan. According to the results of the public opinion poll held in November, the elections may fail to take place in Naberezhnyi Chelny, Nizhnekamsk, Almetyevsk and in rural regions.

According to the prognosis, the number of those who intend to participate in voting in Kazan is from 29% to 36% of the city's inhabitants. As many as 40% have not yet determined their position. A total of 28% stated their refusal to vote.

Among Kazan's voters the most popular blocs are the electoral bloc "Russia's Choice" supported by 16% of the city's inhabitants and the bloc "Yavlinski-Boldyrev-Lukin" (13%).

As many as 7.5% of respondents are going to vote for the Russian Federation Communist Party, 7% for the Russian Democratic Party, 5.5% for the Liberal-Democratic Party and 5% for the Civic Union.

Yeltsin Extends Ingush-Osset State of Emergency

LD3011210393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1853 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin prolongs the state of emergency in some areas of Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia till 2 p.m. on January 31, 1994, due to the on-going deterioration of the local situation, fire exchanges and violence, the presidential press service reports.

A reason for the complicated situation is the non-fulfilment of a working plan approved by the president on July 29, 1993, bilateral agreements and resolutions of the temporary administration aiming at the conflict settlement, as well as non-timely and incomplete financing of housing construction and accommodation of refugees.

The decree, which aims at provision of state and public safety, was signed in accordance with the Russian law "On the state of emergency", the Russian law "On security" and a resolution of the Russian Security council.

According to the document, the state of emergency regime will be suspended from midnight of December 12 through midnight of December 13 in order to hold the elections of the Russian Federal Assembly. The united forces attached to the temporary administration will be instructed to protect citizens and ensure order in public places within this period.

The decree makes instructions and orders of the temporary administration head obligatory for all interior and security bodies, enterprises, organizations, establishments and military units, as well as officials and individuals staying on territory of the state of emergency regime.

The decree shall enter into force since the moment of its signing.

The Russian president also issued a decree on temporary administration on territory of the Mozdok region, the Prigorodnyy region, adjoining areas of Northern Ossetia and the Malgobek and Nazran regions of the Ingush Republic.

Chechnya's Dudayev Denies Urging Anti-West Struggle

LD2611201793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the break-away south-Russian republic of Chechnya, resolutely refuted media reports

that during his recent trip to the Middle East and Africa he called upon Islamic states to launch a struggle against the West.

ITAR-TASS received Friday [26 November] his statement saying "such allegations are designed to discredit Chechnya's efforts to maintain political and economic ties with world community".

Dudayev said that during his trip he "saw with his own eyes the catastrophic living conditions of the Iraqi population" and called on all the states including the Islamic ones to pool efforts to lift the blockade of Iraq.

"I believe that the Islamic world should champion its interests more actively, but I did not appeal to confront the West. Such appeals were out of question", Dudayev said.

Meanwhile, Yalagi Mamodayev, the Chechen opposition leader, hurried to call Dudayev's position "bluntly extremist" and "completely discrediting the very idea of building an independent Chechen state".

Commenting on media reports which quoted Dudayev as expressing readiness to fight for Islam against Russia and other states, Mamodayev told TASS that "Chechnya was not and is not going to fight anyone".

Mamodayev, an ally-turned-foe of the Chechen president, was named as head of the opposition "government of popular confidence" by the Chechen parliament which later was dissolved by Dudayev's decree.

According to the opposition leader, he has come to Moscow "to maintain contacts with leaders of electoral blocs and representatives of the Russian leadership".

"In any case, Chechnya will have to resume the interrupted bilateral talks and establish normal relations with Russia. That is why we cannot stay indifferent towards the composition of a new Russian legislature", Mamodayev said.

Chechnya under Dudayev sees no ways for its participation in the December elections in Russia.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Tells Clinton of Plan To Resubmit START Treaty

LD3011174393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 30 Nov 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] During a telephone conversation with U.S. President Bill Clinton, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated that he would submit the START-I Treaty to the parliament to be elected on March 27, the White House's spokesperson Dee Dee Meyers announced in Washington.

As we reported earlier, on November 19, the Ukrainian parliament ratified the START-I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol with numerous reservations which, in Moscow's opinion, undermines the regime of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. To quote Meyers, these reservations disappointed President Clinton.

The Ukrainian president's Staff informed Interfax that the telephone talks between Clinton and Kravchuk had lasted for 30 minutes and that no one had been informed of the details.

Besides the ratification of the START-I Treaty, the two leaders discussed the economic situation in Ukraine," [quotation marks as received] said a representative of the president's Staff.

He also said that Clinton had proposed searching for ways of implementing the START-I Treaty and expressed readiness to help Ukraine solve its economic problems.

The Ukrainian and U.S. presidents discussed ways of attaining agreements on U.S. financial and economic assistance in Ukraine's nuclear disarmament, on compensation for the nuclear materials and on guarantees of Ukrainian security," he told Interfax.

He also said that the two leaders had discussed details of Kravchuk's forthcoming visit to the U.S. during which Ukrainian-U.S. economic cooperation will be discussed.

Deputy Minister Stresses Safe Storage of Nuclear Weapons

LD3011174093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk has said that his republic is unable to guarantee the safety of nuclear warheads storage on its soil alone. He

stressed in an interview with Interfax that Russia must ensure the maintenance of the missiles, made by its own specialists.

He recalled that the Ukrainian president had repeatedly voiced Kiev's non-nuclear desire. However, Russia, in Tarasyuk's opinion, is going back on the pledge it made at last summer's negotiations in Massandra (Crimea) to service the strategic nuclear missiles sited in Ukraine.

At the same time, Tarasyuk said that currently there cannot be any talk about possible Ukrainian counter sanctions against Russia, should it breach the Massandra Accord.

Commenting on the report that Kravchuk promised Clinton to refer START-I for repeated ratification to a new parliament next spring, Tarasyuk declared: "To begin with, this is just a report. I am not sure that Kravchuk meant that." It was the White House Spokesperson Dee Dee Meyers who informed journalists about Kravchuk's pledge in the course of a telephone conversation with Clinton. Nonetheless, according to the deputy minister, "in terms of the law, this is quite possible."

Asked about the pace of talks on the Black Sea Fleet with Moscow, Tarasyuk regretted that the two rounds of negotiations had not led to concord and mutual understanding, and for this reason the talks have been elevated from commission level to a presidential one. In his words, a Ukrainian-Russian summit will take place in mid-December. May be it will give a fresh impetus to the talks on the Black Sea Navy, Tarasyuk said.

Ukraine, whose financial and technical opportunities are limited, is interested in more foreign investment to do away with nuclear weapons on its territory. This statement was made by President Kravchuk's Foreign Policy Adviser Anton Buteyko at a news-conference in Kiev on Tuesday.

"If the countries at which the missiles are targeted from Ukraine wish that the weapons be scrapped, they must help the republic," he said.

Buteyko also stressed the need to resolve "the issues on compensation" for nuclear weapons. "No state would abandon its material values of its own accord," he said, "bearing nuclear arms in mind."

It was noted at the news-conference, which was also attended by Tarasyuk, that Ukraine's parliament had made only a few remarks to START-I, whereas the U.S. Senate's amendments held 8 pages, and the amendments made by the Russian parliament when it ratified the treaty were several pages long.

Buteyko voiced hope that Russia and Ukraine "will have enough common sense to solve the problems so that in time we could look back at today's fuss with a grin."

Further on Kravchuk Adviser's Comments

LD3011223293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Certain provisions of Russia's military doctrine "cause concern both in Ukraine and Poland," the Ukrainian president's foreign policy adviser Anton Buteyko said at a briefing in Kiev Tuesday. He made it clear that they might push Ukraine into NATO.

Buteyko also said that ratification of START-I was welcomed in Poland.

He had been a member of the Ukrainian delegation at the second meeting of the advisory committee of Ukrainian and Polish presidents that had been held in Warsaw on November 24 and 25. The committee discussed, in particular, relations with NATO, ratification of START-I by the Ukrainian parliament and Russia's military doctrine.

Buteyko said that Ukraine and Poland appreciated the U.S. initiative Partnership for Peace which calls for entry of NATO by East and Central European countries that have proved their desire to cooperate.

[In a related report, Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian at 1650 GMT on 30 November notes that Buteyko said that during the meeting with Poland, "the sides discussed the present state of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the sphere of economic cooperation, with regard to building a European security system and concerning the situation of national minorities. As a result of the committee's work, a joint communique was approved which in particular expressed understanding by the Polish side of Ukraine's actions with regard to the ratification of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon protocol. Members of the committee came to the conclusion that Ukraine treats with understanding the aspirations of Poland and other countries in the regions to become members of NATO. The broadening of NATO should become an active element of the general European security system. For its part, the Polish side supported the need to provide Ukraine with security guarantees."]

He emphasized that Ukraine had undertaken to eliminate nuclear weapons within its financial and technical means and with due regard for ecological security. "But these means are limited," the adviser said. For this reason, he said, it is quite logical that Ukraine wants to attract foreign aid to do this.

"Those countries at which rockets stationed on Ukrainian soil are targeted must help Ukraine," Buteyko said.

Officials Explain Position on START, Nuclear Issues

Zlenko Sends Letter to UN

LD3011204593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] A meeting was held between Viktor Batyuk, permanent representative of Ukraine to the United

Nations, and UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali at the UN's New York headquarters on 29 November. The permanent representative handed to the UN secretary general a letter from Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, that announces the ratification by Ukrainian Supreme Council of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol appended to it, and clarifies the contents, character, and reasons of the reservations made in it. It also requests the UN secretary general to encourage the process of negotiations on nuclear states granting security guarantees to Ukraine, which opens the way for Ukraine's attainment of non-nuclear status in the future.

It was emphasized during the conversation that the ratification of the START Treaty was another important step taken by Ukraine toward the attainment by it of the status of a nuclear-free state in the future.

Deputy Minister Visits PRC

WS0112112393 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Mykola Makarevych, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, has completed a visit to China. During his visit, Makarevych held consultations with the first deputy foreign minister. The two ministers discussed the current situation and prospects for bilateral relations, as well as an array of international issues. Mykola Makarevych explained Ukraine's position on nuclear disarmament and delivered a letter from Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen explaining the position.

Ukrainian Ambassador to China Anatoliy Plyushko also participated in the meetings. The ambassador delivered to the Chinese first deputy foreign minister a copy of the Supreme Council resolution ratifying the START I treaty. The Chinese side was briefed in detail on the nature of the stipulations attached to the ratification. The Chinese first deputy foreign minister said that his government understands Ukraine's desire to receive national security guarantees.

Envoy Received by Canadian Officials

WS3011151293 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Ukrainian charge d'affaires to Canada Andriy Veselovskyy has been received at the Canadian Department for Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and provided explanations behind the Supreme Council decision to ratify the START I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol. The envoy also explained the Ukrainian president's position on this issue. Emphasis was put on the fact that this was the first significant step taken by our country on the path to nonnuclear status, and that all interested sides expect continued progress in this regard.

Also discussed at the meeting were bilateral relations between the two countries. Activation of the relations can be expected in connection with the results of the

recent elections in Canada and the forthcoming Ukrainian Supreme Council elections.

Russian Envoy Comments on Relations

LD3011192193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The people of Russia and its government want to see Ukraine as an independent and strong state. This was stated by Leonid Smolyakov, Russian ambassador to Ukraine, in the URYADOVYY KURYER newspaper. Anyone accusing Russia of wishing to bring Ukraine to its knees by shutting off the gas, he said, is staging a political provocation. There are such things as being in debt and paying for the resources that are supplied by Russia, which is why we cannot make Ukraine the object of our philanthropic concerns, the ambassador pointed out. This is beneath such a great state, bestowed with rich resources, as Ukraine, Leonid Smolyakov emphasized.

Lvov Council Imposes Tax on Russian Visitors

AU3011174093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Tit for Tat?"]

[Text] A session of the Lvov City Council of People's Deputies has adopted the following decision: To elaborate and implement, from 1 December 1993, regulations on imposing taxes upon citizens of the Russian Federation for their temporary stay here. It is decided to establish a tax equivalent to the sum of the minimal wage in Ukraine for each day of the visit. The city administration must elaborate a mechanism for levying the tax and using the capital. Officials and those citizens of Russia who are of Ukrainian descent will have certain privileges [in paying the tax]. The deputies believe that such a decision is an appropriate reply to Moscow's discriminatory measures. Why not borrow the experience of our neighbors? From now on, Lvov, too, does not believe in tears....

Fleet Commander Refuses To Give Crimea Fuel

LD3011221193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet Commander, Admiral Eduard Baltin, has rejected the request by the Crimean authorities to provide part of the fleet's fuel for the region's heating system.

The Crimean government's special commission for providing fuel and energy asked its experts to develop a program to engage the Black Sea Fleet in the provision of the Crimean peninsula with fuel on November 29.

Meanwhile, the fleet itself has only 30 percent of the fuel needed, its press center said.

Baltin's remark on one of the commission's documents reminds of the fact that he foresaw such a situation.

Since August, he turned to every Ukrainian governmental structure right up to the president, with the only request to exempt the fleet from customs duties and the land tax as the fleet lacked funds for those purposes.

"I was supposed to purchase 300,000 tons of fuel oil for the 8 billion karbovantsy which disappeared to nowhere. My request was either ignored or treated as a joke," the resolution says.

That is why the fleet's commander proposes "warming up by making physical exercise."

Kravchuk Receives Georgian Official, Pledges Aid

WS0112142293 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today received Georgian Supreme Council Chairman Vakhtang Guguadze, who heads the Georgian delegation to the session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly. The honorable Georgian guest delivered to the Ukrainian president, on behalf of Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze, words of appreciation for help extended during the Abkhazian-Georgian conflict. Ukrainian pilots, emphasized Vakhtang Guguadze, showed real courage while saving hundreds of human lives. This international mission, said Guguadze, has strengthened the prestige of your country.

Leonid Kravchuk said that Ukraine is interested in the continued development of bilateral relations with Georgia. When a problem arose in a friendly country, said Kravchuk, we did not hesitate; we sent our best specialists and pilots to the troubled zone. Ukraine, emphasized the president, will continue extending necessary help to Georgia, and will broaden the mutually beneficial cooperation.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Approves Decree on Committee Against Crime

LD3011185293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] President Kravchuk has passed the decree on the establishment of a coordinating committee for combating corruption and organized crime. The committee will be headed by the president himself.

Among the committee members are Interior Minister Andrey Vaslylyshyn, Prosecutor General Vyacheslav Datsyuk, Chairman of the State Border-Guard Committee Valeriy Gubenko and Chairman of the Security Service Yevgeniy Marchuk.

Last spring the president established a committee for combating crime. The General Department of the president's staff told Interfax-Ukraine that Kravchuk's recent decree had enlarged the committee and broadened its powers.

Parliament Alters, Cancels 'Extraordinary' Decrees*AU3011154693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
30 Nov 93 p 2*

[Oleksiy Breus report: "'Extraordinary' Decrees Are Dying"]

[Text]

The 26 November Morning Session

The deputies returned to discussing the draft Supreme Council decree on ensuring the functioning of the fuel and energy complex that was proposed by the government. However, they soon agreed with the proposal by [chairman of the Supreme Council] I. Plyushch to remove the bill from the agenda because, as they said, the government is trying to shift its problems onto the parliament.

The draft law "On Ukraine's Anti-Monopoly Committee" became "bogged down" at the first reading at the article dealing with the appointment of the chairman of that committee. That is why the discussion of the bill at second reading started precisely from it. In the opinion of the government, the Supreme Council must appoint the head of the committee on the recommendation of the Ukrainian president. However, the deputies voted for appointing the chairman on the recommendation of the Supreme Council chairman. Then, they also voted for the law as a whole at the second reading.

Minister of external economic activity O. Slyepichev submitted for discussion the law on canceling and altering individual articles of decrees regulating external economic activity that were adopted by the government when it had extraordinary powers. However, the deputies went even farther than that. They canceled those decrees altogether and ordered the ministry to be guided in the future by the Law on External Economic Activity.

I. Plyushch expressed regret that so many supplements had to be introduced into "extraordinary" governmental decrees and announced the title of the next document: The bill "On Altering and Supplementing the Cabinet of Ministers Decree 'On Measures for Completing Commercialization of Enterprises and Organizations of State Trade, Public Catering, and Services Sphere.'"

The law was adopted, like the preceding one, by "double" voting, after I. Plyushch explained the deputies what it was all about.

The supplement to the law on the Procurator's Office was adopted without discussion. The session proceeded to discussing the bill on altering individual legislative acts regarding privatization.

The session adopted the decree on state subsidies for maintaining apartments in buildings of housing-construction cooperatives and housing complexes for

young people, and discussed the question of the administrative-territorial organization.

At the end of the session, the question of ensuring payments for restocking 1993 state resources with agricultural products, raw materials, and foodstuffs was discussed. However, no decision was adopted.

The next plenary session of the Supreme Council will be held on 14 December.

Thousands of Army Officers, Specialists Discharged*LD3011132593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT
29 Nov 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received]—A UNIAN correspondent learned today from sources close to Ukraine's Defense Ministry that in the last 10 months almost 9,000 officers, 3,000 of whom are young, have been discharged from Ukraine's armed forces at their own wishes, at a time when the plan for discharging officers who have served their term has been fulfilled by 52.3 per cent. The same sources report that a tendency is being observed for doctors, lawyers, economists, topographers, communications and radio electronics engineers, and other specialists to seek voluntary discharge from the army.

In this connection, Ukraine's Ministry of Defense has issued written instructions on the discharge of officers who are specialists from Ukraine's armed forces solely on the basis of current legislation and on not permitting them to be discharged without reason. In the opinion of observers, this instruction in fact bans the early release of such specialists from the army.

General Staff Recalls Discharged Troops*LD0112132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237
GMT 1 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov December 1 TASS—A unique document has been circulated in units of the Ukrainian Army. The General Staff of the Ukrainian armed forces demanded that the discharged soldiers and sergeants return to their units.

After the Ukrainian parliament reduced the term of military service to 18 months, President Leonid Kravchuk issued the decree for the discharge of servicemen called up within two years. However, as units were undermanned, the parliament withdrew its own law and again endorsed the two-year duration of military service. By that time hundreds of soldiers and sergeants have already left for home. Units' commanders now cast about for the ways of fulfilling the order of the General Staff. The order says, in part, that it should be brought home to every discharged soldier that the latest decision of the parliament is an enforced measure and that servicemen who have put in 18 months of military service should return to their units.

Officers believe that hardly anything, short of force, can make young people return to complete military service.

Four Regions To Handle State Property

LD3011190093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has granted the Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye and Lugansk regional administrations the right to handle state property during the period from January 1, 1994 until December 31, 1995. These measures are aimed at developing the regions, says the presidential decree.

The granting of regional independence to the Donetsk Region was one of the striking miners' demands last June. Last summer, the president instructed the government to draft a program for the development of the Donetsk-Dnieper Region in conjunction with the regional administrations.

Centrist Political Bloc Formed in Lvov

LD0112115793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2050 GMT
30 Nov 93

[Text] Lvov—A news conference formally announced today the formation of the New Wave [Nova Khvylya] political association. This association is a non-party electoral organization of specialists with a membership of highly qualified lawyers, economists, scientists, scholars, and professional politicians. Ihor Koliushko, Ukraine's Reforms Support Fund expert and a New Wave member, said: "The New Wave is a generally centrist association of national democratic forces. The association's economic program is based on the principle of the need for urgent economic reforms, while its political [principle] is that of the middle class in power." The aim of forming the association is the engagement in political activity of specialist intellectuals, who today either do not wish to join, or are not accepted by, the existing political parties, and the formation of a centrist bloc of candidates for people's deputies.

Among the New Wave's candidate members of parliament are People's Deputy of Ukraine Ihor Yukhnovskyy; People's Deputy of Ukraine Mukhaylo Kosiv, chairman of the Western Scientific Center at the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; People's Deputies of Ukraine Viktor Pynzenyk, Taras Stetskiv, and Ihor Hryniv; Oleksandr Pavlenko, director of the ASPI legal firm; and others.

'Grim' Economic Situation Analyzed

PM3011144793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by correspondent Aleksandr Milkus: "Ukrainian Economy: Below Zero"]

[Text] All the signs of the turmoil of the winter of 1917-18 as described in the history textbooks are here

again. There are the people who have frozen to death. The temperature inside houses is 15-16 degrees at best. And that only if there are heaters and the electricity has not been turned off. Most enterprises are at a standstill. Scientific research institute staffers are being sent on leave until the spring. There is talk of halting classes in higher education establishments. Instead of three schools it is planned to "start up" only one and children from neighboring schools will take turns studying there. Apparently television will broadcast only from 1800 hours as of December.

Fainting from hunger has become a reality. Pensions and budget-controlled wages are frozen but even wages in commercial structures cannot keep up with inflation. Prices in November doubled for several foods. For instance, in Odessa 10 eggs cost 16,000-18,000 karbovantsy.

Epidemics are imminent. There is terrible lice infestation in kindergartens, schools, and maternity hospitals. In one prestigious kindergarten the morning begins with a doctor searching children for lice. Soap is expensive and there is no washing powder to be had... In the fall cases of typhus abdominalis, cholera, and diphtheria were recorded.

There is mugging on the streets everywhere. After 1900 hours people only leave their homes in the case of dire emergency. There are lines waiting for the store selling gas weapons, whose sale was recently authorized. On people's faces there is a grim, fatal concern: The winter is only beginning.

A picture very similar to the present one in Georgia, but the war there is in its second year. But here? According to Americans' assessments Ukraine is pursuing the most inept economic policy in Europe. Unable to understand where a country of 50 million people which does not want to give up nuclear weapons is going, the European Parliament has stopped its program of technical aid to Ukraine. Virtually all credit lines have been closed—French, German, Italian, Austrian, American. The banking community regards Ukraine as a state with which there is no point in developing financial ties either now or in the immediate future.

There is now simply nowhere to get money from. Kravchuk's edict on paying off 400 mortgages of the republic's entire state property at \$25 million each was blocked by parliament. A week ago a 100,000 karbovantsy note was put into circulation.

Viktor Pinzenik, a recent vice premier responsible for economic reforms, citing authoritative experts, asserts: Ukraine has four to six weeks left before complete collapse.

There are two versions of what is happening. The first is favored by orthodox people of all stripes: Ukraine's collapse is a specially prepared and planned action. If you are told that Ukraine's collapse is the work of the imperial "soldiers," that means that you are talking with a national-democrat. If you hear that it was deliberately

destroyed by all the bosses in the Kiev offices you have come across a member of the communist party now permitted in the Republic.

In my opinion there is a second, more realistic version. Having acquired power two and one half years ago through a masterly political maneuver, Leonid Kravchuk has still been unable to decide what to do with this power. Whether to strengthen his own seat, which is being shaken on all sides, or to embark on unpopular reforms and finally be driven from the presidential palace.

Leonid Makarovich's two years of balancing between left and right, the reshuffling of the government and the strenuous depiction of vigorous activity reflected in the issue of edicts on the celebration of the latest professional holiday prove that the president has chosen the former.

I recently tormented another former vice premier who was in charge of the economy for three months, Vladimir Lanovoy:

"Tell me, do the president's entourage and the government really fail to understand where their idleness is leading? Or is it really a political game?"

"I now know for sure that they did not understand," he said, shrugging. "They simply failed to understand elementary market truths."

Virtually all enterprises which are emerging in Ukraine today are engaged only in buying and selling. Vadim Chernyy, a student at the Moscow State University economics faculty, 21 years old, and director of Odessa's largest joint venture, which provides the city with everything from production mechanizing equipment to toys, says:

"We were brought to collapse by the lack of any kind of intellect in those in power. The desire to fill the coffers urgently was the result of the fact that the prime cost of virtually all goods produced by Ukraine is higher than that of their Western counterparts.

And it is in this situation of economic collapse that the election campaign is beginning, connected with the new parliamentary elections scheduled for 12 March. In a situation in which immediate action must be taken, the old parliament no longer wants to make unpopular decisions. The present deputies do not need this: The majority of them intend to run for the new Supreme Soviet. But on the eve of the election marathon who

wants to have "behind him" a decision to freeze wages, for instance? The deputies representing the national-democrats have no intention at all of attending the present sessions. At least RUKH leader Vyacheslav Chornovil recently called for this.

Many political forces eager for power now want to play the economic card. And that threatens Ukraine in the very near future not only with serious economic problems but also with a stormy political dispute into which various forces will evidently want to draw the frozen and hungry people.

All TV Stations To Broadcast Only in Evening

LD3011213193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1920
GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk November 30 TASS—All TV channels in Ukraine will broadcast their programmes only in the evening time. This is caused by "the adjustment of the equipment to operation under low frequency and low tension current", as was delicately explained to the population.

However, since no time limits were specified for this adjustment, a conclusion may be made that Ukraine has taken this step to save electricity for industrial enterprises. This is also proved by the fact that on holidays and days-off broadcasting will be carried on in a usual regime, as well as by changes in the time-table on all channels.

From now on, the First Channel of national television will be on the air from 4:00 p.m. till midnight. All the other channels, ranging from the Commonwealth channel to commercial ones, are to be on the air for even a shorter time, from about 6:00 p.m. till midnight.

Struggle for broadcast time will certainly mount up. And it is not very difficult to predict that this struggle will be won by the most radical patriotic parties and movements upholding Ukraine's "sovereignty and independence" and condemning "imperial ambitions of the northern neighbour".

As for the viewers, certain concessions were made to them. Thus, the Commonwealth channel was promised to go on the air not at 6:00 p.m. sharply, but a little earlier, since a most popular Mexican soap-opera begins at 5:55 p.m.

Belarus

Armed Forces Reorganization Under Way

LD3011163593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333
GMT 30 Nov 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsvskiy]

[Text] Minsk November 30 TASS—The reorganization of Belarusian armed forces is being carried out on the whole according to a worked out plan, head of the government Vyacheslav Kebich told a meeting of the Collegium of the Defense Ministry of Belarus.

By the beginning of the next year the main stage of reducing more than 200,000-strong troops stationed in the republic in accordance with the military doctrine of the former Soviet Union, will be practically accomplished, the prime minister noted. The troop strength will reach an optimal figure—less than one percent of the total population of the Republic. "This will allow to straighten out the budget financing of the armed forces in the future," Vyacheslav Kebich said.

Touching upon the estimate of expenditure on defense for 1994, which is due to be approved at the current session of the Belarusian parliament, the premier noted that the government allocated about 600 billion rubles for these purposes. "This will make it possible to ensure normal financing of all expenditure on maintaining the army and acquiring military equipment not in full volume," the Belarusian prime minister pointed out.

According to Vyacheslav Kebich, a deficit in the officers' personnel of low command technical ranks is already felt now which is connected with the limited possibility of the republic in training young officers in conformity with a full list of necessary specialties in two military colleges in Minsk now being reformed.

The present extremely limited economic and budget possibilities are unlikely to allow Belarus to introduce service in the army on a contract basis from February of the next year, and apparently the republic will have to postpone this measure for a later time.

The government has not raised and is not raising a question of imposing a tax on servicemen. This concerns not only the Defense Ministry but all other servicemen who carry shoulder straps [as received], Vyacheslav Kebich stressed.

KGB Head, Minister on Troop Resubordination

WS0112084293 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in
Russian 24 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Alekseyev: "KGB and Interior Ministry Against State Secretary"]

[Text] The leaders of two institutions—Belarusian KGB Chairman E. Shirkovskiy and Interior Minister V.

Yegorov—addressed a letter to S. Shushkevich and V. Kebich. The letter raises certain issues concerning Belarus' state system.

The authors believe, in particular, that the decision to create independent border troops including the chief administration of railway and civil defense troops was a mistake.

The leaders suppose that the decisive criterion in the staff policy of the Belarusian Armed Forces and their new appointments is personal loyalty and the existence of close relations in relevant government circles. This has resulted in a continuous reshuffle of commanders. For example, four deputy defense ministers, all commanders of tank armies and those common to all arms, chiefs of headquarters, and commanders of the anti-aircraft defense have been replaced over the past year and a half alone. This is also the case with General Colonel P. Chaus, who was chosen as defense minister and invited to the Republic as a person with substantial practical experience in commanding the Army. Today, however, the state secretary for crime prevention and national security has publicly announced the minister's removal from office.

Ambitious commanders of the Chief Administration of Border Troops, the letter goes on to say, instead of reacting in principle to the objective information from the state security institutions, and by using imaginary accusations of slander and attempts to discredit border troops as a cover, are not only adopting practical measures to restrict the legal activities of the KGB, but are also raising the question of its full abolition. These plans find support and approval from G. Danilov, state secretary for crime prevention and national security. In addition, the latter acknowledges the possibility of disbanding the KGB Military Counterintelligence Administration. This is inadmissible from the viewpoint of a state approach toward security and combat readiness.

The state secretary for crime prevention and national security does not noticeably control public order in the Republic. However, law protection organs receive a great number of requests on the issue of cooperating in a purely official sphere.

We can see the tendency to ignore the opinion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs when the government is adopting routine decisions. The state secretary disregards a large part of the ministry's proposals on the perfection of the official skills made on the basis of a lengthy and thorough survey of official activities. On the contrary, some government resolutions include clauses that are no longer pressing or are even harmful to the Internal Ministry officers.

Sometimes, in an attempt to justify its existence, the state secretary adopts dubious decisions. For example, the officers of the Internal Ministry have been authorized to implement the government resolution No. 774 from 10 October before it was published in the mass

media. This caused mass violations of legal norms regarding the withdrawal of hard currency from definite categories of citizens.

The state secretary exceeded his powers when he adopted a decision to bring weapons from Russia to Belarus, again ignoring the Internal Ministry position on this issue.

Eduard Shirkovskiy and Vladimir Yegorov have proposed resubordinating the civil defense and railway troops to the Belarusian Defense Ministry and the border troops—to the Belarusian Committee for State Security which will make it possible to cut the commanding staff and save assets.

In the opinion of Eduard Shirkovskiy and Vladimir Yegorov, the introduction of the state secretary has not been envisaged by the Constitution; it is illegal and, hence, is superfluous. They think that the continuing penetration of State Secretary Danilov into the work of military counterintelligence organs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the internal troops can no longer be tolerated.

Role of Neutrality Assessed

WS3011143193 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in Belarusian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Loyka: "Belarus Needs Neutrality Not Only for Economic Reasons But Also Geopolitical Ones"]

[Text] Last week, the Supreme Soviet ratified the agreement on the CIS economic union, the new-type of ruble zone, and unification of Russian and Belarusian monetary systems. In the words of Aleksandr Shokhin, Russia made its bet on the stabilization mechanisms of the transition of national currencies, and stabilization of national economies through the efforts of the republics themselves. Only this kind of stabilization can make possible an economic union in the form of the Russian rule or the efficient union of payments based on stable national currencies.

Russia does not waste its breath. This was clearly shown in Georgia, where it virtually assumed functions that lie in the competence of local authorities. However, one should not forget that it also destabilized the situation by abetting the Abkhaz people in their fight against Tbilisi. This was a purely political goal: To retain its influence in Georgia and prevent nationalism from reshaping into an independent policy. After this goal was reached, Shervardnadze agreed on Russia's special role in Georgian affairs, which again earned him Russian support by the Georgian authorities. This is how Georgia saw the famous saying, "Divide and rule," work in practice.

Belarus is unlikely to be an exception to Russian politics. And this is not only because of the 1 million Russians living in Belarus. Russia is interested in the scenario of economic reforms, which it wrote for other CIS countries. It will not stop at forcible measures, if more

moderate than elsewhere, to keep the situation in Belarus stable. This situation, however, is undermined by a weakness of the Belarusian national currency. Belarusian political forces are not yet fully aware of the consequences of this tendency and the Russian reaction to it. Russia will never have equal relations with countries that are incapable of being independent. Russia—still unsure about Belarus—will be waiting to determine its potential. However, devaluation of our currency will give Russia grounds to think that Belarus might become another unstable country. This is when the collective security treaty will allow it to exert more influence on economic processes in our country. In this situation, neutrality may prove the foundation for Belarusian independent economic policies, and will guarantee that if push comes to shove, Belarus will not become a subject of Russia, whose National Bank will dictate to Belarus how to make its currency convertible. It is quite obvious that Russia is not going to put the economies of any of the neighboring states on its balance-sheet.

Belarusian neutrality is also necessary because of processes underway in the West. Many East European countries fear that they might fall victim of Russian intentions to regain its influence in this part of Europe. As a way of preserving independence, most of the East European countries seek membership in NATO. Our western neighbor, Poland, is also among those countries. As soon as it enters this political organization, the role of Belarus for the West and East will become very conspicuous. It stands to reason that Russia will never allow NATO to come close to its boundaries. NATO itself will not agree to this as it is not interested in angering Russia with its huge stockpile of nuclear weapons. In this situation, neutrality will be the most acceptable option for both sides. This will work to our advantage, allowing Belarus to build normal economic relations both with the West and with Russia.

Another positive consequence of Polish entry to NATO is that it will give Belarus a security guarantee with regard to Germany, where Nazism is gaining in force. Poland has always been a target of German nationalistic interests. Sentiments toward the "eastern borderland" are gradually disappearing from the Polish mentality. Polish nationalism for centuries was directed at Belarusian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian territories, which could be effectively restrained by NATO membership.

Also, Poland's admission to this bloc would curtail Russian hopes for easy economic gain and force it to adopt a serious attitude in dealings with its European neighbors, especially with Belarus and Ukraine.

Thus, Belarusian politics are presented with favorable perspectives and opportunities. At the same time, Belarus assumes great responsibility for such a realistic goal as neutrality.

Parliament Discussing New Draft of Constitution

WS3011143293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] According to a decision by the 13th session of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, the parliament is today discussing a new draft of the Belarusian Constitution. As usual, the sitting began with deputies' reports on everyday problems of our society. The floor was then taken by Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, who spoke about the draft constitution and explained the need to approve a new constitution for the Belarusian Republic—even though some deputies argued that it should not be adopted at this session, and proposed that urgent social and economic issues be addressed instead. Nevertheless, debate on the draft has begun and is being conducted on an item-by-item basis.

Deputy Refutes Spying Charges, Says Documents Stolen

LD3011232993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2107 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Tereza Khayutina for TASS]

[Text] Minsk November 30 TASS—Belarusian people's deputy Iosif Seredich refuted accusations of espionage at parliamentary hearings today.

A week ago unidentified persons stole a briefcase with classified documents on Belarusian border troops from his service car. The thieves were detained a week later.

According to the deputy, the materials dwell on negative phenomena in the troops and are no worthy secret for foreign intelligences.

Popular Front Official Notes Events in Russia

WS3011152793 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Belarusian 24 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Professor Yury Khadyka, deputy chairman of the Belarusian Popular Front: "I Know a Third Way Out"]

[Text] Until recently, the development of events in Moscow has been especially exciting due to their close resemblance to the political situation in Belarus. The Russian Supreme Soviet was constantly prompting a model of behavior for our deputies; moreover, during the last two years it supported the mad idea of the restoration of the USSR and in this way strengthened the political stand of our Belarusian nomenclature. However, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has convincingly demonstrated the wisdom of the old saying "Do not step twice into the same river." The adoption of a mountain of new decrees, the dynamic launching of a new election campaign, the acceleration of the process of denationalizing state property show the determination of the presidential team to finally abolish communist structures in Russia.

From the viewpoint of making analogies, the Moscow events have become less exciting for us of late.

At the same time, they are still attracting us because they make Belarus an independent state. For the second time during the last years, the government and the Supreme Soviet of Belarus have found themselves in a situation when the destiny of the state was in their hands. However, I think that they have not yet felt this change. Again, we are at a crossing: Either to fight selflessly for independence or to surrender and live under Russian suppression and lose independence with a prospect of losing our national character. *Tercium not datur.*

It can seem curious, however, that Belarusian liberal communists no longer want to unite with Russia. They understand pretty well that this action will immediately trigger:

1. Immediate abolition of the Soviet organs;
2. Holding of early elections along with democratic parties;
3. Refusal of power currently in their hands;
4. Liberation of mass media;
5. Competition with venturesome Russian entrepreneurs.

Hence, rejection of power is unacceptable to our liberal communists.

In addition, the way of bolstering the independence of Belarus is also unacceptable to them. In contradistinction to nomenclature governments of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, our liberal communists are not as strongly supported by people like Nazarbaev or Karimov. This lack of support hampers Kebich in introducing the national currency, in creating conditions for foreign investments, and in arguing with Russia to appropriate part of the former USSR property. In addition, our nomenclature has lost foreign support, and has been left with their own people who will not forgive them the rapid transfer to the economy drive and the introduction of cardinal economic reforms. The reforms will trigger attacks by their international communist friends. By the way, Kebich will not win support from the democratic parties because he would not like to lose the chair of the prime minister and to liberate the mass media.

Hence, in my opinion, the government and the Supreme Soviet majority will look for a third way. It does not exist, but they are tempted to find it. The Moscow events show this way. In my opinion, only the state supporting parties will stay in power in Russia after the December elections. There are no parties rejecting the imperial policy among those that have received permission to participate in the December elections. The imperialist circles in Moscow know too well the geopolitical importance of Belarus and will do everything to keep Belarus dependent on Russia. They need the Belarusian-Polish border, the Belarusian railways, the oil and gas pipelines, the belt of the anti-aircraft defense for Moscow situated

on the Belarusian territory. In my opinion, they will buy all this from the Kebich government for the inviolability of their power.

In the near future, we could hear Kebich's "confederation" plans conferring immense authorities to the elder Russian brother. However, the Belarusian-Russian border will be preserved as, according to the pro-Yeltsin mass media, Russian liberal reformers will not agree to the existence of an independent source of money supply in the ruble zone which can feed inflation. For the Russian party, it will be more convenient to create a "communist Bantustan" separated from Russia by a conventional border that will be transparent not only for human contacts but also for the information and economic invasion. Belarus will have no foreign policy, will participate in the military union, will become the place for laundering criminal Russian money, and will introduce Belarusian-Russian bilingualism.

Belarusian people will have to pay for this foolish policy of our current government. Currently, the Russian mass media start printing nostalgic articles about Belarus which demonstrate a change of Russia's attitude toward Belarus and their wish to enslave us. It is apparent that the leadership of our Belarusian Bantustan will soon spend the resources (fuel and raw materials) allocated by Russia to the Kebich government in order to support this operation. It is clear that Russia is unable to earmark a larger quantity. Hence, we have to wait only until the spring of 1994 when the described scenario will be staged. Next, in two-three years, our population will become real beggars, and we will beg Russia to incorporate us into the Russian Federation in order to save Belarus from its own government. So, the third option will soon lead us to the way of complete national betrayal.

This is how I see the way out of the current political deadlock in which the Belarusian Government was brought by the Moscow events. I cannot blame the Russian authorities for these gloomy prospects. If I were in their place, I would have done the same.

Therefore, the Belarusian Popular Front and all those who value Belarusian independence should be aware of the great responsibility and the heavy weight of the struggle with the liberal communist clan in our Republic. Time is pressing; March 1994 is approaching. We have to change the government. Let us think together how to implement this plan.

Industry Workers Create Defense Committee

WS0112101293 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Belarusian 25 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Vyacheslav Stoka: "Defense Committee for Defense Enterprises Has Been Created"]

[Text] The Council for Creative Association "Khvalya" has supported the idea of creating a "Defense Committee" for the economic protection of Belarusian defense enterprises and has decided to participate in its work.

The association "Belradprom," uniting 32 enterprises of the radio-electronic industry was the organizer of this committee. The aim of this "Defense Committee" is to control the course of discussions on the conversion law, and to support the rights and well-being of the workers of defense enterprises.

Moldova

Talks on Resolving Dniester Conflict Continue

LD3011164693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1440 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau November 30 TASS—The talks between Chisinau and Tiraspol on the settlement of the Dniester conflict continued in the Moldovan city of Bendery today. These negotiations began yesterday through the mediation of the Russian president's special representative, Nikolay Medvedev, and are being conducted behind closed doors.

According to well-informed sources, yesterday delegations of the Dniester Region and Moldova, which comprise three representatives each, held the first meeting with the participation of Nikolay Medvedev. Representatives of both sides exchanged their views on the current situation in the region and on the ways of resolving the crisis. Observers believe that the two sides are still far from reaching an agreement. Today the Dniester delegation will submit information on the talks at the session of the parliament of the Dniester Region.

Observers note that there are two major viewpoints on the settlement of the Dniester problem in the leadership of the Dniester Republic. Representatives of industrial circles who are sick of the problems connected with the illegitimacy of the Dniester Region, speak for accelerating a dialogue with Moldova.

"The union for the defense of the Dniester Region" headed by Professor Vasilii Yakovlev, who is a member of the Tiraspol delegation, take a stiff position in this issue.

The Russian president's special representative, Nikolay Medvedev, is due to fly to Moscow later today.

No Results Reported

AU3011210393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Mircea Dascaluic report from Chisinau]

[Text] Nikolay Medvedev, chief of the Department for Territorial Administration of the Russian Federation

Presidency and President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, who arrived in Chisinau yesterday accompanied by a group of experts of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, today went to Tighina [Bender] and Tiraspol.

Within the framework of the new joint commission in charge of quenching the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester River, a round of negotiations took place in connection with working out a draft law to confer special status on the Dniester region. Within this commission, Nikolay Medvedev plays the role of mediator.

As Mr. Nicolae Andronic, member of the Moldovan delegation, stated, the discussions ended without yielding any results. The main difference was the diverging assessment of the status of the conflicting sides. While the representatives of Chisinau insist that the document start from the recognition of the Republic of Moldova as a sovereign and righteous state from a territorial point of view as, in fact, the convention that was concluded by Presidents Snegur and Yeltsin on 21 July 1992 stipulates, the Dniester side wants the two states to be viewed as independent entities.

The discussions were very difficult and the intentions of the mediator from the Russian Federation were often interceded by such affirmations as: Boris Yeltsin does not yet represent the whole of Russia.

Also today, Nikolay Medvedev met with the Tiraspol separatist leader Igor Smirnov, after which he returned to Chisinau where he had a talk with President Mircea Snegur.

This evening, Nikolay Medvedev returned to Moscow, while the group of experts of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue its activity in order to complete the aforementioned draft law.

Gagauz Leader Dissolves Local Councils

*AU3011141593 Paris AFP in English 1348 GMT
30 Nov 93*

[Text] Chisinau, Nov 30 (AFP)—The president of Moldova's breakaway Gagauz region dissolved its parliament and local councils Tuesday, Chisinau radio said.

The decree issued by Stepan Topal, a pro-communist elected by popular vote on December 1, 1991, said the region in southeastern Moldova will be ruled by presidential decree and government directives until he designates new local representatives.

His decree ordered the "reorganization of the state power in the Gagauz Republic" and dissolved the local councils, or soviets, saying Topal was acting "in the interest of the Gagauz people."

"It is the only way to ensure a way out of the country's crisis, (to improve) the security of the state and the people and to strengthen the power of the Gagauz Republic," the decree said.

Armenia

Yerevan Criticizes Baku's Rejection of CSCE Plan

NC3011220593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Statement issued by the Armenian Foreign Ministry; date not given]

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry expresses its deep dissatisfaction over Azerbaijan's rejection of the CSCE peace plan and regards it as a major blow to peace in the region. In rejecting the latest peace plan of the nine countries of CSCE Minsk Group, Azerbaijan reiterates its intention of finding a military solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. This step also means that Azerbaijan refuses to respect UN Security Council Resolution 884, which specifically calls on the conflicting sides to accept the schedule on urgent measures for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 822/93 and 853/93, which were proposed by the Minsk Group and amended during the CSCE Minsk Group's meeting in Vienna from 2 to 8 November 1993.

The CSCE Minsk Group's proposal is a new version of the mutual-concession solution aimed at establishing a cease-fire, securing a withdrawal from the occupied lands and the return of the refugees and displaced people, lifting the blockades, and initiating the Minsk conference to negotiate the status of Karabakh.

The nine countries of the Minsk Group—Italy, Russia, Turkey, the United States, France, Germany, Sweden, the Czech Republic, and Belarus—had given their consent to the mutual-concession proposal, which was obtained at the end of long and difficult talks.

Motivated by the intention to put an end to the bloodshed and human suffering and (?acceding) to the demands found in the UN Security Council resolutions, Armenia accepted the peace plan on 22 November. The Armenian authorities and the president of the Republic made every effort to persuade the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership to accept this proposal. In effect, Nagorno-Karabakh accepted this peace plan despite the dangers posed by this plan to the security of its population.

Clearly, the Azerbaijani Government remains the sole obstacle to peace and to serious negotiations. In trampling upon the will of the international community and by adopting an intransigent position, Azerbaijan is merely prolonging the suffering of the peaceful population and is creating extreme difficulties for everyone in the region.

Azerbaijan's rejection of the Minsk Group plan can only revive the worst fears about the intentions of that (?country).

The Armenian Foreign Ministry can only conclude that the military operations being undertaken by Azerbaijan

on the southeastern war front of the Karabakh-Azerbaijan conflict zone for the last two days reflect the real policy of Azerbaijan, which now bears complete responsibility for the continuation of the conflict and human suffering.

Official Deplores Rejection

NC3011221793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Report by Grigor Geuzalyan on news conference held by First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan in Yerevan on 30 November]

[Text] The briefing given to reporters by Armenia's first deputy foreign minister was mostly a review of the latest diplomatic developments and touched upon the statement issued today by the Armenian Foreign Ministry. The Armenian Foreign Ministry strongly deplores Azerbaijan's rejection of the CSCE's peace plan, and regards it as a major blow to peace in the region.

Mr. Liparityan opened his statement by saying: By rejecting the latest peace plan advanced by the CSCE Minsk Group, Azerbaijan has reiterated its intention to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem by military means. The statement adds that such a step also means that Azerbaijan refuses to respect UN Security Council Resolution 884, which calls on the conflicting sides to accept the improved version of the CSCE's schedule on urgent measures.

Emphasizing the Armenian authorities's political assessment of the situation, Mr. Liparityan added:

In view of the fact that Armenia and Karabakh have accepted the schedule, it can be concluded that Azerbaijan remains the sole obstacle to peace and to ending the human tragedy that has befallen the peaceful population. We had hoped that Azerbaijan would display a more flexible and [word indistinct] policy in recent months. But after showing some flexibility in September, it resumed [words indistinct]. As you know, our foreign minister will address the yearly ministerial-level meeting of the CSCE in Rome this afternoon. The Azerbaijani foreign minister has prepared a statement that can be described as propaganda that is devoid of any constructive (?ideas). We hope that this issue will be raised at the CSCE and the United Nations and that the international community will respond accordingly.

Asked what could be expected from the CSCE foreign ministers' meeting in Rome, Mr. Liparityan said:

The Rome meeting is a regular one, but it is a high-level meeting for the CSCE [words indistinct]. A [word indistinct] will be drawn up and then adopted by the ministers. Part of that declaration will refer to Karabakh problem. We expect [words indistinct]. As you know, Mario Raffaelli has formally asked to be relieved of his post as chairman, and a new chairman will be appointed for the Minsk Group [words indistinct]. We believe that,

in view of the experience gained from the Minsk process over the last year and a half, the new chairman might introduce new changes at the very start. As I said before, this process will be reviewed and [words indistinct] the future course of the CSCE Minsk Group's activities will be charted.

Fighting Reported in Southern Karabakh Region

NC3011201093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The situation remains unstable along the Nagorno-Karabakh battle fronts. According to reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army headquarters, the armed formations deployed in Azerbaijan's Beylagan region launched an attack against the Armenian positions at Beyuk-Mahmalu in Fizulin-skiy Rayon in the morning of 29 November after a rocket and artillery barrage. Fierce battles followed during which the NKR armed forces not only checked the enemy's attack but also inflicted a strong counterstrike. Casualty figures are being determined.

No substantial changes have been noted on the rest of battle fronts.

Despite the relative calm prevailing in the Karabakh conflict zone, the Azerbaijani side is aggravating the situation in a planned manner. Every day the enemy tries to provoke the Karabakh army to take countermeasures.

The NKR Defense Army press service reported that the Karabakh positions in Martuninskiy Rayon came under tank and artillery shelling from Azerbaijan's Beylagan Rayon at 2030 on 29 November. According to preliminary reports, there are injured. The fire was not returned. The frequent shellings of and the concentration of the Azerbaijani troops on this front is seen by the Karabakh Defense Army headquarters as an obvious preparation for a massive offensive against the NKR. However, the representative of the NKR Defense Army command said that the people of Karabakh will not be caught off guard.

Karabakh: Afghan Mercenaries Fight for Azerbaijan

LD3011220793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Karabakh possesses undisputable evidence that Afghan mercenaries are fighting on the Azerbaijani side, a senior official of the National Security Department in Stepanakert told Interfax. He said that the department had at its disposal a note pad with tables for radio exchanges, a Pashto phrase book, a Pashto national costume, unsent letters and Afghan cash.

The source said that these articles were found in positions abandoned by retreating enemy troops southeast of Karabakh. Photographs of groups of Afghan citizens made, he said, in the Azerbaijani town of Ali-Bairamli last May, were also found there.

Russia's Karabakh Mediation Termed 'Unbiased'

LD3011200193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1711 GMT 30 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Armenia is reasonably hopeful about the outcome of the CSCE foreign ministers meeting in Rome on November 30 to discuss making the CSCE efforts more effective in the Armenian-Azerbaijani war zone. Presidential Press Spokesman Aram Abramyan said at a briefing in Yerevan Monday that the efforts of the CSCE should be combined with those undertaken by the world community and the UN with Moscow acting as a peace broker because Russia can make a significant contribution to resolving the conflict.

"Russia's mediation in the Karabakh issue is neutral and unbiased. Its proposals should be thoroughly studied," Abramyan emphasized. He said that this was the view of President Levon Ter-Petrosian. Abramyan also said that the decisions on Karabakh that would be made in Rome must be backed by sending peace keeping forces to the region.

Meanwhile, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry has made public a statement which describes the Yerevan position as obstructing a peaceful solution to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. It rejects the Armenian attempt "to compel Azerbaijan to recognize Karabakh Armenians as a party to the conflict." In Baku's view, the statement made by a representative of the Armenian community in Nagorno-Karabakh to the effect that "withdrawal of Armenian troops from certain areas is very difficult" is "a challenge of UN Security Council resolutions and of the schedule of urgent steps that has been proposed by the CSCE Minsk group... The Armenian authorities have effectively said that they do not intend to withdraw troops from all occupied Azerbaijani lands, as the UN Security Council demands."

Finance Minister Evaluates Money Exchange

NC3011190393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Report by Gevorg Nazaryan]

[Text] A news conference was held at the Government House today by Finance Minister Levon Barkhudaryan and Central Bank Director Isahak Isahakyan, who are members of the State Commission on Regulating the Currency Circulation.

As expected, they spoke about the results of the currency exchange, the exchange rates between the dram and foreign currencies, and measures being taken to stabilize the dram.

Finance Minister Levon Barkhudaryan said:

[Begin Barkhudaryan recording] It could be said that the currency exchange has basically been completed. We have already started summing up the results. Let me say that the population directly exchanged a total of 94 billion rubles [R]. About 2.1 million people, maybe a little more, took part in the currency exchange through enterprises, post offices, and savings bank branches. The overall volume of the new six-month ruble deposits opened at the savings banks was around 8 billion rubles. The final figure is still being determined. The rubles already held by the enterprises, organizations, and banks—which were handed in on Monday and part of Tuesday—amounted to about 43 billion. Thus, R1,000, R5,000, and R10,000 banknotes, amounting to some 145 billion, were either deposited in the banks or were exchanged directly.

What conclusions can be drawn from these figures? We can say immediately that most of the rubles that were in the republic were exchanged. We followed the progress of the exchange each day. In the final days, there were no problems or incidents connected with the exchange. Some regions even completed the exchange a few hours before the deadline. The average direct exchange amount for each person was R45,000-R46,000 rubles, compared with the maximum limit R50,000 we had set for direct exchange. If we take into account the average wage and the average income, which are two to two-and-a-half times less than the maximum limit we set for the direct exchange, we can conclude that there was quite an active redistribution of cash money that (?previously) had accumulated in the hands of certain groups. This solved some social (?problems) [words indistinct]. A partial redistribution of certain incomes has also taken place.

Reports are coming from various regions to the effect that villagers have not yet been able to open deposits. [words indistinct] Today we will have clear information about how many people have not yet done so and the amount of rubles they are holding. Afterward, we will make a final decision. Of course, the villagers and those people who have worked for their money but have failed to exchange their money for objective reasons should be able to exchange their money. They should be given this opportunity. [end recording]

The two officials then replied to reporters' questions. The government decided on Sunday to provide goods to the shops to stabilize the dram. I asked them if this would be possible, and they replied: We have some stocks of goods—manufactured goods and foodstuffs. We have already started selling them. In fact, butter is being sold for 25 drams in some shops today. But the dram's circulation and the export of our goods are also necessary to stabilize the dram. Practical measures are being taken in this direction. Asked if goods could be distributed with coupons, Levon Barkhudaryan accepted the logic behind that idea and noted that, as of next month, the government (?could examine) such steps. But the current stock of some goods does not allow such a measure.

Both the finance minister and the director of the Central Bank did not deny that there would be difficulties in the process of stabilizing the dram.

They also spoke about some other problems.

Azerbaijan

Opposition: Aliyev Revives 'Stalin's Repressions'

MK3011133093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (Signed to press 29 Nov) p 4

[Leyla Alibeyli report: "Human Rights Organizations Become Active. They Accuse Aliyev of Political Repressions"]

[Text] Azerbaijan's human rights organizations, including the Human Rights Committee of the Social Democratic Party and the republic's UN Human Rights Committee, have called on the world community to take notice of human rights violations in the republic. The statement was made after several members of the republic's former leaders were arrested in Baku on President Aliyev's personal instructions. They include the ex-defense minister Ragim Gaziyeu, who is now in the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs remand unit. Despite requests from a number of political organizations for an open trial for Gaziyeu, even his lawyer is not permitted to see him, which is a violation of the defendant's fundamental rights.

Ragim Gaziyeu spoke against the People's Front government during the Gyandzh events. He later acted as a broker between Aliyev and rebellious Colonel Surat Guseynov. When Gaziyeu's mediatory mission successfully ended, Aliyev offered him the post of defense vice premier. But Gaziyeu turned this offer down and spoke against Aliyev's absolute rule and for the return to Baku of Azerbaijan's ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov. Differences sparked between the former defense minister and the current president of the republic ended in Gaziyeu's arrest.

According to human rights organizations, there are now more than 20 political prisoners in the republic not counting the republic's former leaders, all of whom were arrested on charges of complicity in the well-known Gyandzh tragedy.

The pressure from the current authorities has resulted in the fact that a number of opposition parties have buried their differences and stated the possibility of creating a parliamentary opposition bloc. Despite the existing organizational difficulties between deputies representing the Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan (PNIA) and the People's Front of Azerbaijan (PFA), there is already a measure of agreement between them, Nazim Imanov, deputy chairman of the PNIA, thinks.

Speaking about parliament's attempt to preserve censorship by scrapping Item 3 in the law on the press, N. Imanov pointed out that if this proposal is accepted,

there is no knowing what the country would expect in the future because "if there is a medium for opposing injustice, it is news agencies and newspapers."

According to the PFA, PNIA, the Social Democratic Party of Azerbaijan and others, the spirit of Stalin's repressions is being revived in Azerbaijan, which is showing in particular in an informers' epidemic. Not only ordinary citizens but also top officials are sending denunciations to the republic's competent law and order organs, thus trying to remove their political rivals.

Party Claims 'Provocations' Against Azeris in Georgia

NC3011181193 Baku TURAN in English 1343 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 30 (TURAN)—Provocations against Azeris living in Georgia continue. 70 Azeris were kidnapped in the regions of compact dwelling of Azeris and Georgians by now. The press-center of "Yurddash" party reported TURAN News Agency.

It is also reported, that having received the ransom, terrorists dismissed a number of hostages. These events caused the indignation of the Azeri population of Georgia. Starting November 8 a massive wave of protests passed through the Azeri populated regions of Georgia. The participants of large-scaled rallies and pickets demanded that the powers of Georgia guarantee constitutional rights of the Azeri national minority in the Republic.

In spite of the meeting of Azeri Secretary of State Lala Gadzhiyeva and the Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze held on mid November the situation of Azeris in Georgia did not improve.

The "Geyrat" social organization of Azeris in Georgia, have called for E. Shevardnadze again, demanding to guarantee the constitutional rights of Azeris in Georgia, to dismiss all the kidnapped, to restore order in local executive powers. In case these demands are not implemented, then starting December 1 mass political actions of protests of Azeris in Georgia will resume.

Delegation Holds Talks in Turkey En Route to Rome

LD3011191893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] An Azerbaijani delegation stopped off briefly in Istanbul on 29 November en route to Rome to take part in the session of the council of CSCE foreign ministers. Hasan Hasanov, the republic's foreign minister and head of the delegation, and State Councillor Vafa Gulizade met Husamettin Cindoruk, chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the airport VIP lounge. According to the republic's Foreign Ministry press center, the situation in the region and the further development of friendly relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan were discussed.

Government Asked To Take Measures Against Press

NC3011181393 Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziya Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Metleb Motalibov, chairman of Azerbaijan National Assembly Standing Commission on Defense and Security Affairs, has sent a signed letter to the Press and Information Ministry. The letter notes that a number of newspapers have been violating the law on mass media. The letter advised the leadership of the ministry that resolute measures be taken against those papers that create doubt of victory [against the Armenians] and disseminate rumors, and that more attention should be focused on the papers published in areas close to the border, and the standing commission should be informed of measures taken.

Media Complain About 'Pressure' Against Press

NC3011182493 Baku TURAN in English 1343 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Baku November 30 (TURAN)—A statement on the Azerbaijani mass media, expressing the serious concern in connection with "reinforcement of the pressure upon the press, which created a serious threat to the liberty of word and political pluralism" is spreaded in Baku today. The latest sitting of Milli Mejlis, which tried to adopt an amendment to the law on press, giving a way to the total dictatorship of the state over the mass media witnesses that this campaign is started.

This may become the preliminary step towards the total dictatorship and can lead the society to the dangerous level of the civil opposition, the statement runs. Such a non-democratic development of events may cause the self-isolation of Azerbaijan, which will negatively influence the support of the world community to the country.

"We call for the deputies to abstain from adopting decisions, making the achievement of the national consent difficult in such an important period of our history," the appeal runs.

Highest Officer Rank To Be 'General of the Army'

LD3011165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1441 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku November 30 TASS—From now on, the highest officers' rank in the armed forces of Azerbaijan will be "general of the army" which is one rank higher than the one that existed before. This amendment to the law on the armed forces of the republic was introduced by the National Assembly (parliament) of Azerbaijan.

This rank will be conferred by the parliament on a recommendation by the president of the republic who, in accordance with the Azeri Constitution, is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The head of state can have

this highest military rank on the recommendation by the collegium of the Defense Ministry.

According to other amendments to the law, the president is entitled to impose martial law in the country, as well as use the armed forces, even not in conformity with their direct functions, but with the parliament's approval.

Simultaneously, at a war period criminal punishments for violation of military discipline are stiffened. For instance, the evasion from the call-up for military service will be punished by an imprisonment from 5 to 7 years, and under more serious circumstances up to 10 years. An unauthorized leaving of the military unit envisages an imprisonment up to 15 years, and in special cases even a capital punishment.

Georgia

Tbilisi-Abkhaz Peace Talks Begin in Geneva

Tbilisi Delegation Sets Demands

LD3011205093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Today, Abkhaz-Georgian talks on the peaceful settlement of the Abkhaz conflict began in Geneva. According to the head of the Georgian delegation, Jaba Ioseliani, the Abkhaz side will oppose demands put forward by the Georgian side and after this the world community will have to exert [the necessary] political pressure required in this sort of situation. In Ioseliani's view, official Russia's stand regarding the Abkhaz problem becomes increasingly just. Items of the documents Russia intends to present to the Abkhaz side can be seen as a striking demonstration of this. They include the necessity of political repentance, return of refugees, and disarmament of the Abkhaz armed units.

The head of the Georgian delegation said that the Gudauta side must admit instances of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population and deplore actions of war criminals.

Talks Begin After 2-Hour Delay

LD3011213993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1943 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva November 30 TASS—The first U.N. and Russia mediated peace talks between representatives of Georgia and its break-away part Abkhazia started Tuesday after an almost two-hour delay.

Abkhazians demanded exclusion of Zurab Erkvania from the Georgian delegation.

Sokrat Djindjolia, first deputy chairman of parliament, who leads the Abkhazian delegation, filed an official protest saying Erkvania had been "named by Georgian

leadership as chairman of the so-called Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic" (the Tbilisi-based rival government for Abkhazia) and his participation in the talks "infringes on the laws of Abkhazia".

However, the crisis was settled with Russia's mediation and the talks started.

Both sides expressed hope that in spite of the complications that marked the beginning of the work, the political settlement of the problems in relations between Georgia and Abkhazia will be reached.

Leader of the Georgian delegation, parliamentarian Jaba Ioseliani told ITAR-TASS that "all objective conditions exist for starting a peace process", one of which is a new "more determined position of Russia" who "is playing a big role" in the resolution of the conflict.

Russia is represented at the meeting by Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

Ioseliani said the Georgian side plans to put forward its peace proposals and will further act depending on what response they will evoke from the Abkhazians.

One of the vital questions to be discussed at the meeting is a concept of Georgia's territorial integrity. In the course of conversations with the members of both delegations TASS learnt that Georgians adamant about sticking to the principle, while Djindjolia said: "We are not concerned about Georgia's territorial integrity at this point. We would like to hear Georgian proposals first".

The current talks are mediated by Edward Bruner, special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general. In September Bruner twice failed to organize face-to-face Abkhaz-Georgian peace talks in Geneva. It was only after he held separate consultations with each of the sides in October that he managed to reach an agreement of all parties concerned to start direct negotiations.

Bruner's November meeting in Moscow with Boris Pastukhov resulted in mutual understanding that the U.N. and Russia should act jointly and without further delay to settle the crisis.

Transitional Administration Discussed

AU3011200793 Paris AFP in English 1943 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By Maurice Lubatti]

[Text] Geneva, Nov 30 (AFP)—Representatives of the Georgian government and of the breakaway republic of Abkhazia Tuesday discussed the setting up of a transition administration, under international control, to oversee a return to peace in the Caucasus region during their first round of direct peace talks here.

The talks came two months after the Abkhaz completed the takeover of their Black Sea coastal homeland by

taking the capital, Sukhumi, the last stronghold on the northeastern coast of the Georgian government of Eduard Shevardnadze.

Talks were set to continue Wednesday with the presentation of a memorandum by the U.N. representative for Abkhazia, Eduard Brunner, diplomats said here.

Tuesday's talks were attended by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, who has acted as conference "facilitator."

The warring parties each outlined their respective demands, diplomats said.

The Georgian government delegation was led by Dzhaba Iosseliani, a controversial warlord whose backing was crucial in consolidating Shevardnadze's shaky government.

Iosseliani called for preservation of Georgia's territorial integrity in which Abkhazia would retain a large measure of autonomy.

The Abkhaz delegation, led by Sokrat Zhinzholia, vice-president of the new regime in Sukhumi, delayed the start of the talks for two hours because he objected to the presence in the Georgian delegation of a man designated by Tbilisi as prime minister of the autonomous region of Abkhazia.

The separatists are seeking to establish an independent republic, on par with Georgia itself, on a territory a fourth the size of Switzerland, which once served as a playground for vacationing Russians.

Tbilisi wants demilitarisation of the country under international control, along with the return to the Sukhumi region of some 200,000 refugees who fled the fighting when the town fell to the Abkhaz at the end of September.

The Georgian government's delegation has received the support of a group of "friends of Georgia," among them France, Britain, the United States, Russia and Germany, diplomats said.

Meanwhile in Brussels, the 12 European Community partners Tuesday welcomed the opening of the talks here, calling on both parties to refrain from further hostilities and underlining the importance of "the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia."

"We are counting on the guarantees from the international community so that we can this time reach a peace agreement," Iosseliani told AFP.

"We have already had three ceasefire agreements with the Abkhaz and each time they have seized on the opportunity to re-arm and then launch new hostilities," he added.

In addition to Brunner, Feodor Starcevic, representative of the U.N. in Georgia and General John Hvidegaard, commander of the U.N. observers in Sukhumi attended. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,

whose foreign ministers were meeting Tuesday in Rome, was also represented here by Vincenzo Manno.

The CSCE in Rome called for reinforcing its monitoring operations in Georgia.

Iosseliani Comments on Talks

LD0112104593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 1 Dec 93

[Text] As reported earlier, talks between Georgian and Abkhaz delegations began in Geneva yesterday [30 November].

This morning we contacted Geneva and were told by the leader of the Georgian delegation, Jaba Iosseliani, that the talks had gotten off to a controversial start. However, international opinion was sympathetic towards and supportive of the Georgian delegation's position.

Nevertheless, there are differences. The Georgian delegation wants international organizations to become actively involved in the process of returning refugees to Abkhazia, so that international organizations not only monitor the process, but also conduct it.

Iosseliani told us that the bulk of the work at the talks is to be completed today, and a memorandum is to be issued. The talks are due to end today.

Memo of Understanding Main Agenda Item

LD0112125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 1 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva December 1 TASS—The discussion of a memo of understanding is the principal item on the agenda of the second day of the talks on a settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. The talks were continued here on Wednesday, with Eduard Brunner, U.N. Secretary-General's special representative, and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov participating.

The memo will reflect settlement priorities such as exchanges of prisoners of-war and the refugee issue. Besides, a joint consultative body is expected to be set up to work out proposals on further state-legal relations between Georgia and Abkhazia. It is not ruled out that the delegations, as has been suggested, will meet in Geneva again in mid-January, members of the delegations told ITAR-TASS.

"We shall do our best to finalise work on Wednesday with specific and positive results by adopting an appropriate document," Mr Brunner told ITAR-TASS. "Today we shall try to work out a plan of action for the future and at least take decisions which can be implemented immediately," he said, adding that "the atmosphere of the talks has now considerably improved".

**Black Sea Ships End Peacekeeping Mission,
Withdraw**

LD3011142793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409
GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] As Interfax learned from well-informed sources close to the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet, the withdrawal of its forces stationed at the Georgian coast and in the Poti harbor began on Tuesday.

In comments on this information the chief of the fleet's press center, Captain Andrey Lazebnikov said that the peace-keeping mission had accomplished its tasks; law and order in Poti has been restored, and the safety of navigation for foreign shipping has been ensured.

According to the chief of the press center, the Georgian authorities formed a brigade for protecting the coastal area, which made the further stay of the Black Sea Fleet ships there less necessary.

Black Sea Fleet sailors are always ready to come to the aid of friendly nations, Lazebnikov pointed out.

102 Black Sea Fleet marines were stationed in Poti to protect its vital facilities. There were 3 ships in Poti's harbor: an anti-submarine vessel, a large landing ship and a

mine-sweeper. Their task was to protect the local shipping routes and ensure air defence at the Georgian coast.

Poti Official: Fleet Not Leaving

LD3011193893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 1638 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By GIA correspondent]

[Text] Poti (Republic of Georgia), 30 Nov—Murman Tsakadze, head of Poti's town security department, has denied press reports claiming that ships of the Black Sea Fleet are being withdrawn from the port of Poti. According to him, the military commandant's office and a subunit of the detachment of sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, stationed in Batumi, who are maintaining order, are still in the town and port.

Tbilisi Curfew To Remain in Effect After 1 Dec

LD3011212393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in
Georgian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The Georgian Parliament had decided that the curfew will remain in effect in Tbilisi after 1 December 1993. Any movement of the population without special passes is prohibited between 2300 and 0600.